VALERY STYRKUL

This documentary sketch reveals the anti-popular prospectless policies of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist emigre circles in the West The author uses a broad range of documentary sources; a large part of the material is published for the first time

Up a Blind Alley

Valery
STYRKUL

Up a Blind Alley

Documentary Sketch

Kiev
Dnipro Publishers
1986

У2
С80

ВАЛЕРІЙ СТИРКУЛ

БЕЗВИХІДЬ

Публіцистичний нарис

Translated from the Ukrainian
by OLEXANDR PANASYEV

Printed in the USSR

4702590200—225
М205(04)—86 **225.86**

© Dnipro Publishers, 1986.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 4

I. The Doomed 19
They Wanted To Put Down the Revolution 20
They Tried To Stick Together 31
They Wanted To "Develop" the Occupied Lands 36
They Offered Their Services Again...
For Money, of Course 47
They Put Their Young People Up For Sale 52
They Quarreled, Made Up...
Only To Start Quarreling Again 60
And They've Wound Up With Nothing Left In Their Hands 69

II. Mystifications of the Clergy

Autocephaly 73
A Blessing From a Bad Priest
Can Hardly Do You Any Good 80
The Lives of the Last Uniate Metropolitans 90

III. Friendship For Hire

"Concord" of Bitter Enemies 109
Dancing on the Victims' Grave 127

AFTERWORD 134

INTRODUCTION

When a reader picks up a book he intends to read, he is likely, before anything else, to take a look at the table of contents in order to form an opinion of the book's subject matter from the chapter headings. The present book probes into the activity of Western-based nationalistic groupings, Zionists and a militant clergy; it aims at defining their place in the wide spectrum of methods and techniques used in anti-Soviet subversion, behind which stand imperialist reactionaries craftily pulling the strings of their puppets. They would like to see all kinds of progressive tendencies reversed, and political regimes established that have no popular support whatsoever. But neither the perfidious efforts of reactionaries nor the backing of certain government-sponsored organizations can pull these Western-based subversive groupings out of the quagmire of the perplexing problems in which they are hopelessly bogged down. They are irrevocably doomed to failure.

The future generations of the third millenium, which mankind is soon to enter, will surely look back and try to make an objective assessment — for it is and ever will be in man's nature to be inquiring — of the most important events of the 20th century, the time of great turbulence and transience. They will try to evaluate its assets and liabilities. Some evaluations are likely to be controversial. But unbias-

ed evaluators will not escape the conclusion that it was the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia, the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first ever state run by workers and peasants, and the acceptance by a considerable part of humanity of socialist and communist ideas for developing their political and economic systems, that exerted the greatest impact on the course of human civilization rather than the numerous military conflicts, the First and Second World Wars included.

After the victory over the black forces of fascism in the Second World War, socialism spread from Europe to other continents and became one of the key factors in shaping international political life. Of the many accomplishments of world socialism which have had an unquestionably positive effect upon the life of mankind, two which are vital should be pointed out: the emergence of real opportunities to prevent a third world war, and also the preservation of peace in Europe for over four decades, in a Europe that has been the scene of the world's two bloodiest conflicts within the first half of the 20th century.

The clear achievements of socialism, and the inspiring experience of the way political and social problems are solved in socialist nations, and in the Soviet Union in particular, permit the hope that mankind can avoid self-destruction in a thermonuclear conflagration. Among the alternatives to a nuclear holocaust are: putting an end to the arms race; reaching effective agreements on the non-use of nuclear and

other weapons of mass destruction; bringing about disarmament; and establishing good neighborly relations between states with different political systems. The very existence of human civilization in the future depends upon the success or failure of this peace program; in fact, the very existence of life itself is involved.

People in the socialist nations are quite realistic in assessing the current world situation and, notwithstanding the problems confronting them, they possess a well-grounded optimism plus the determination to continue promoting their peaceful policies aimed at developing cooperation and mutual understanding between countries with different social systems. They look into the future with hope.

In contrast to this, pessimism, frustration and despair are moods current in many western countries. These moods are the natural results of economic pressures, the suppression of human rights, political terror and machinations which have become indelible features in capitalist society. In view of this, it is only natural that throughout the world much interest has been aroused about the Soviet Union and its people whose remarkable efforts, within an unprecedentedly short period of time, brought about fundamental transformations in the country's economy, science and culture. The country's achievements as a whole have brought it to the forefront on the international scene.

The growing international prestige of the Soviet Union boosts the growing public interest in this country. More and more people want

first-hand knowledge about the Soviet Union and this thirst for knowledge, in turn, promotes foreign travel.

Some foreign tourists come to the Soviet Union with prejudices and biased minds due to the anti-Soviet propaganda they have been subjected to since 1917, propaganda that loudly clamors for getting rid of "the Reds" who are "the source of all evil" and "a potential threat" to the exploiting potentates of the capitalist world.

Such biased visitors are in for some surprises though. When they do come they very soon find out:

— that the USSR, so often described by US political hawks as "a permanent military threat to the free world," has officially declared that it will never be the first to use nuclear weapons and, moreover, is willing to eliminate the very threat of nuclear confrontation;

— that war propaganda in the USSR is an offense punishable by law;

— that in the country once called "the source of all evil" by a US President in a public address, affable and friendly attitudes toward foreigners and regard for foreign mores are normal behavior;

— that visitors and citizens alike may stroll through the streets and parks at any time, day or night, and come to no harm — something that so many people in so many US and other western cities have given up as being too dangerous.

When the propagandistic fog lifts and foreign visitors recover the ability to see things clearly,

they cannot help but discover that "the red monsters" are actually quite a friendly and gracious people, concerned with such familiar things as peaceful daily routines, caring for their families and their country; that they are also concerned about the future; that they are broad-minded and not at all indifferent to matters of international importance; that they are eager to promote peace and not war.

But it is this "clear vision" that certain individuals and organizations in the West would hate to allow. They regard anyone with an open mind as being potentially dangerous to the system they represent, and they would be only too happy to have around them populations of mindless human robots, programmed to act and think. And, of course, part of the programming for these robots would be anti-Soviet in character. Flagrant anti-Soviet propaganda is aimed at brainwashing people and frightening them from making intended visits to the Soviet Union and other socialist nations. But more and more people in the West ignore the warnings and do go.

Incidentally, and paradoxically as it may seem, certain agencies and secret services, which could never be suspected of entertaining any sympathetic attitudes toward the Soviet Union, are energetically encouraging visits to the Soviet Union. It would be futile though to begin to look for their hidden intentions in promoting cultural contacts. These agencies and services want to use foreign tourism as a channel for introducing their agents, and even all kinds of subversive riffraff, into the Soviet

Union. Frightened they may be, yet they do come, hoping against hope that things will turn out all right somehow. They take the risk because they travel free of charge, with all expenses paid by those who send them; besides they are promised a bonus in remuneration for their services if they manage to do what they are expected to do. Every year dozens of such "adventurers" are caught red-handed. They immediately start bemoaning their fate, saying that they feel so miserable and wretched, that they have been duped and hoaxed into all this by certain shady characters from one or another shady secret agency or from disreputable anti-Soviet organizations.

Among these "globe-trotters on special missions" one can find individuals of Ukrainian descent. They come to visit the land of their ancestors with vile purposes on their minds. But instead of being recompensed for the risk taken, they get a good dose of humiliation, suffer from a bad conscience to their dying day, receive strong condemnation from the Ukrainian people and on top of everything else, they forfeit the right to visit the Ukraine for good.

Thus, two seemingly contradictory trends in Western attitudes towards contacts with Soviet Union manage somehow to get along: on the one hand, there is the continuing desire of secret services to use tourism, scientific and cultural exchange for their specific purposes; and on the other hand, there is the desire to protect the Western public by all means possible from getting true facts about the USSR, and

from making a direct and personal acquaintance with the Soviet mode of life.

But vain are the attempts of these obscurantists to dampen the general public's interest in the Soviet Union. Even the American FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) and similar institutions in other countries, which enjoy being called "all-powerful," are helpless to do anything about it.

Vain also are the attempts of such secret agencies, hurriedly adapting to current international trends, to gain something by sending spies, or individuals trained in ideological subversion, to the Soviet Union under the guise of members of tourist groups or other delegations.

For many years now, folklore groups, made up of members of Ukrainian communities in the USA, Canada, France and other countries, have been visiting Ukraine. Invariably, upon their return, the participants of these groups come under heavy attacks from nationalistic organizations, and are publicly vilified — "toadies and underlings of the Soviets" or "traitors to the national cause" being among the most popular appellations. And what are the "outrageous acts" they commit to provoke such great wrath? Nothing but the very fact of their visit to the land of their forefathers with the purpose of showing what they have managed to preserve from their ancestral cultural heritage, and of drinking a reviving swallow from the springs of the living Ukrainian language and arts, so the latter may give them new strength to withstand the levelling pressure of the huge "melting pot."

Opponents of everything Soviet and of cultural exchange go to considerable lengths to prevent Soviet visitors from meeting American citizens. They set up pickets, make outrageous scenes outside the galleries exhibiting Ukrainian art, and at the theaters where visiting Ukrainian artists perform. In most cases they fail to disrupt the performances but they try to involve some individuals from the Ukrainian communities abroad in boycotting visiting performers from Soviet Ukraine. All this is done under the ridiculous slogan of "fighting for an independent Ukraine," with liberal doses of misrepresentation and distorted propaganda thrown in. In fact, these vociferous "protests" launched by anti-Soviet nationalists and clerics are aimed at concealing the facts about Soviet Ukraine.

Faced with the all too evident Soviet achievements in practically all spheres of human endeavor, Western ideologists are hard up for new ideas that might inspire the masses. The Western world is reluctant to face up to Soviet ideas and philosophy. This fact explains a constant recourse to ideological subversion which becomes a government-sponsored activity. But no subversive activity will ever prepare the ground for an "ideological softening" or "erosion of socialism," or the "disintegration" of the USSR and the other socialist nations. It is along this line that all kinds of "cold," "psychological" and other "wars" are launched, "crusades" against communism are preached, and campaigns are started against everything which is not to the liking of the reactionaries in the West.

So far, throughout the 20th century these activities of the Western opponents of socialism have borne no fruit, and this experience suggests only too clearly that they will remain fruitless in the future as well. The advocates of ideological subversion, if they can't avert the final and inevitable failure of their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist efforts, want to at least delay it. With this purpose in mind, they frantically search for those who might collaborate with them, work for them, and continue their policy. They try to use everyone and everything they can lay their hands on.

Thus, they eagerly accept the services of clerical, Zionist and nationalistic groupings — with Ukrainian nationalistic organizations included among the latter. Even former Nazi collaborators who, in a far-sighted move, were given shelter after they fled from the scene of their crimes, are invited to help.

But it is a losing game to lay stakes on puppets from these groupings; all the more so, because their cause is doomed. In spite of the hectic activities in which they sporadically engage, the nationalists, clerics and Zionists often suffer from moods of dejection and despondency. Their feverish signs of life are, as a rule, only the result of the dollar injections they receive from spy agencies and "private funds" controlled by these agencies.

Many years ago, Western proponents of political subversion were favorably impressed with what the Ukrainian nationalists stated publicly shortly after the publication of Adolf Hitler's morbidly misanthropic *Mein Kampf*;

"Ukrainian nationalism is above the ordinary human notions of solidarity, justice, compassion and goodwill." Going a step further, the cheap "rag" *Meta* (Goal), then under the guidance of Andrey Sheptitsky, metropolitan of the Greek-Catholic Uniate Church, wrote: "Ukrainian nationalism must be prepared to fight communism with all available means, not excluding mass physical extermination which could even involve millions of human lives." This was written before the Nazis established their nightmarish dictatorship in Germany.

"Mass physical extermination" -- isn't that a direct call for genocide? At the same time, this statement unmasks the nationalists and reveals their destructive intentions. Later, a Banderite * sheet *Homin Ukrainy* (Echo of the Ukraine), which is still published in Toronto, Canada, went even further by claiming that the "entire generation living today" could be sacrificed, rather than mere millions.

Genocide as practised by the German Nazis, has been condemned by the whole world. In 1950, an international convention on genocide came into force. The signatories to the convention pledged to act so that cases of genocide be prevented, and persons responsible for genocide be prosecuted.

Unfortunately, not all the countries that signed the convention keep their pledge to punish those who have commited acts of genocide.

---

* Banderite — a member of the terrorist Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, named after its leader Stepan Bandera

In the United States, for example, racial discrimination which is a permanent and pervasive feature of American life, necessarily results in acts of genocide. The Ku Klux Klan, an organization which exists with official connivance, has genocide against Blacks on its program. A new convert to the KKK takes an oath to steep his hands in the blood of a Negro. The American authorities wink at neo-fascists whose uniforms and souls are stamped with swastikas, thus allowing them to engage in their pernicious activities and to feel quite secure in the much-advertised "free world." This tolerance on the part of the US authorities runs counter to all US pledges taken after the defeat of Nazi Germany to prevent the resurgence of fascism.

But indulgent attitudes to war criminals and Nazi collaborators appear to be mere trifles compared to some of the USA's global attitudes. The Pentagon brass-hats openly boast of having so many nuclear missiles targeted on the USSR, and so many nuclear weapons delivery systems kept in constant combat readiness. The US war strategists estimate that the first nuclear strike will annihilate tens of millions of people. One cannot help concluding that nuclear war, whose "admissibility" has been so widely advocated by these strategists, is a new form of genocidal practice.

Americans have a saying which goes something like this: the shorter your memory, the longer you live. In some cases, maybe, it holds true. But not when the existence of nations and

of all mankind is at stake. To forget about the Fascism of Mussolini and the Nazism of Hitler, to forget about the fifty million people killed in the Second World War that was started by Fascism, to accept the possibility of a new global war in which nuclear and other mass-destruction weapons will be used, is a criminally suicidal thing to do, as this kind of suicide will involve millions upon millions of lives of people who do not want war.

Sober-minded and influential political and military figures in the United States and other Western countries are quite realistic about the fatal consequences of attempts to tackle international problems with the help of arms, specifically nuclear arms, no matter how "humane" — as described by some of the Pentagon strategists — they may be. Such realistic thinking gives one hope that Western leaders will some day change their present militaristic attitudes, and that mankind will successfully achieve the most vital and noble goal: that of averting the threat of a third world war.

The well-known American sociologist Wright Mills said in his book with the significant name of *The Causes of World War Three* that "an expensive arms race, under cover of the military metaphysics and in a paranoid atmosphere of fright... has become The Business Way of American Life." In his book he dragged before the public those who were directly benefiting from the arms race, saying that "leading corporations now profit from the preparation to war. Insofar as the corporate elite are aware of their profit interests — and that is

their responsible business — they press for a continuation of their sources of profit."

It would also be worthwhile to pay heed to another of Mills's conclusions which claims that the economic and political problems of the United States would become less severe should there be disarmament and genuine peace. Of course they would, especially in view of the unprecedented rate of growth of military expenditures in the USA.

In the years of the Second World War, the US economy kept growing mainly thanks to war industries. But in more recent times the ever-present contradiction between the enormous war expenses on the one hand and the general economic system on the other has become so acute that the arms race has stopped producing new jobs and brought about a runaway inflation. All of this adversely affects the standard of living of the American working population, and plays into the hands of the industrial-military complex. Once again we turn to Mills: "We shoud remember that there is no market other than the military for the products made under many profitable contracts with aircraft, missile, electronic and spacecraft corporations."

What Wright Mills wrote in the late fifties holds true, to a very large extent, today.

In 1985 the Soviet people celebrated the 40th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan in the Second World War. The Soviet people showed great unity and patriotism in the face of the grim trials of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, fighting

at the front, working in the rear, and building up resistance in the territories temporarily occupied by the Nazi invaders. It was, probably there, in the occupied lands, that the war hit the local population the hardest. People were killed on the slightest provocation: for showing any resistance, for saying a harsh word, for giving a look of hate, for merely belonging to an ethnic group that had been chosen by the Nazis for extermination.

The Nazi invaders took various henchmen from the Ukrainian nationalist emigration to accompany them into occupied Ukraine, planning to put down resistance with such henchmen's help with ease, and fasten the firm yoke of slavery on the Ukrainian people. These plans fell through. The Soviet people proved to be of a stock that could not be suppressed. The entire nation rose to fight a holy war of liberation. The Red Army, the partisans, workers and farmers working for the front in the rear, the young and the old were united in their eagerness to contribute to the defeat of the aggressor, and to the liberation of their country from the Nazi hordes and their nationalist recruits.

There were untold deaths, untold agony and grief before Victory Day came at last. Today's peace has been paid for with rivers of blood. Soviet people have entered their fifth peaceful decade thanks to the foreign policy which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government have been steadfastly and persistently adhering to. The Soviet people are doing their best to make sure that all future generations will grow up in peace, without any

new wars threatening their peaceful progress towards a better life. Science and culture can thrive only under conditions of peace. Nuclear energy and space research must be peace-oriented rather than serve the purposes of war.

Soviet people do not stand alone in their desire to do away with wars and assure a peaceful future. This desire is shared by millions of peace champions throughout the world. Their united actions are sure to force warmongers of all kinds out of the international scene. The advocates of solving international conflicts by means of arms will sink into oblivion.

I. THE DOOMED

For many years now, Western political figures and ideologists of various leanings and of different influential levels — and especially those who are involved in ideological subversion — have been trying to present nationalism as the "miracle weapon" of the 20th century, as "a virus" that can infiltrate anything, or as a most effective "lever" that can topple the power of the people in the USSR, and help break up the unity of the world's socialist community.

It is worthy of note though, that the advocates of imperialism, and those involved in ideological subversion, do not use the same phraseology in describing anti-imperialist, national-liberation movements in colonial and third-world countries. They accuse anti-imperialist nationalism of being aggressive; of trying to throw off the burden of foreign capital, once imposed by force; of berating imperialist primitive arrogance and of disregarding the *laissez-faire* principle, lastly, of ignoring basic human rights. At the same time they would be only too happy to see nationalist feelings in those countries which have chosen to develop along socialist lines; then, they try to use these to the detriment of those countries; then nationalism becomes "a morbid virus," "an overturning lever" and "a weapon."

The Ukrainian nationalists based in the West enjoy brandishing these "levers" and

"weapons," and rattling on about nationalism as "an alternative" to communist ideology, in the belief that it would strengthen their case. Whenever and wherever they can, they use these concepts for propaganda and other similar — but not so lofty — purposes. As far as the practical deeds of the Ukrainian nationalists are concerned, they are channelled by various subversive agencies and secret services into spying and subversion, aimed at brainwashing as many people as possible, both outside and — if a chance presents itself — inside the Soviet Union. However, Soviet people have proved immune to nationalist viruses. There are no social grounds for nationalism in the Soviet Union. That is why the enemies of socialism in general, and of the Soviet Union in particular, use the Ukrainian nationalists living in the West for their purposes, pumping them full of hatred, and setting them against the Soviet Union, especially against visiting Soviet officcil, tourist and arts-performing delegations.

THEY WANTED TO PUT DOWN THE REVOLUTION...

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism appeared on the political scene at the turn of the century. In the political turmoil of the time, it was pushed to the forefront as a suitable factor in disrupting the nascent proletarian unity of the peoples, and as a handy tool in stemming the approaching tide of a socialist revolution.

In some cases, nationalist movements of oppressed peoples in a number of countries blended with the liberation movements against imperialist domination and foreign invasion, thus contributing to the struggle for national independence. But nationalism in the Ukraine has never had, and could not have, any positive traits, as it sprang up as a counterpoise to the revolutionary movement of the masses; in its earliest stages, Ukrainian nationalism served hostile foreign interests and began to use foreign aid in an attempt to establish the power of the bourgeoisie and big land owners. At the time of the greatest trials for their country, the Ukrainian nationalists always sided with the enemies of the people, but acted under the camouflage of lofty slogans such as fighting for "liberation," "freedom" and "independence."

Only three days after Germany had declared war on Russia, on August 4, 1914, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists set up the Germanophile Union for Liberation of the Ukraine, and sent a message to the German Kaiser, wishing him "a complete victory for the German army," and expressing "an urgent and earnest request to liberate us from the age-long oppression of bondage, and give us state independence." The nationalists did not forget to pay homage to the Austro-Hungarian crown either, and in pompous terms swore "allegiance to the Emperor and his country."

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists did not only stop at issuing proclamations and appeals, assuring both the German and Austrian Emperors of their readiness to serve both to the best

of their ability. Their deeds better than their words exposed them as imperialist lackeys and traitors of the Ukrainian people.

The activity of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists preserved its treacherous character in later times as well. For instance, they tried very hard — but with no success — to present in their writings the short-lived counterrevolutionary *Tsentralna Rada* (Central Council) that was in power in the Ukraine in 1917-1918 as a period of "independent" statehood. Campaigns clamoring for nationalist "independence" and promoting "unity" are still periodically launched in the West. At times they get to be so clamorous that the US Congress stoops to hear them. Then the congressmen begin to pay heed to the "prayers intended for Ukraine" and, misled and misinformed by anti-Soviet promptings, they lower themselves to make quite ridiculous speeches and statements, studded with quotations from nationalist periodicals.

The *Tsentralna Rada* came into being after the February bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1917 and, contrary to the wishes of the Ukrainian people, set out to uphold the power of the bourgeoisie and big land owners. The leaders of the *Tsentralna Rada* apparently liked things reminiscent of *auld lang syne* and, even their edicts were styled accordingly. This "new old way" of running administrative and political affairs was designed to lure and capture the imagination of the masses who, as these leaders incongruously believed, would be overjoyed to see *hetmans* of the old times, holding maces, and garbed in historical dress. But the

masses yearned for peace and bread. They also very much wanted to be rid of foreign and local oppression. They longed for a new life of freedom and did not care for any new bonds, even disguised in the dress of the heroic past. Both the form and the content — especially the latter — of the measures taken by the new government failed to win the masses.

The Ukrainian people were quick enough to see that the *Tsentralna Rada* was after maintaining a regime based on exploitation. The majority sided with the revolution and supported Lenin's words in the *Manifesto to the Ukrainian People* (published December 3, 1917—December 16, New Style) where he accused the *Tsentralna Rada* of playing a double game of ambiguous bourgeois politics under the cover of national phrases.

The people did not wait for the German or Austro-Hungarian rulers to impose new masters of "local make" upon them. At the First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, the Ukraine was proclaimed a Soviet Republic (December 12, 1917 — December 25, New Style). A government of workers and peasants was formed — the Central Executive Committee of Soviet Ukraine.

In the months following the February bourgeois-democratic Revolution in Russia in 1917, and especially after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the nationalists made frantic attempts to prevent the revolutionary masses from seizing power. For this purpose, they sought support among those who were extremely hostile to the Ukrainian people. The edicts

and proclamations issued by the *Tsentralna Rada,* reflect these political leanings.

The first edict of the *Tsentralna Rada* dated June 1917 proclaimed autonomy of the Ukraine, and the Provisional Government of Russia, made up of upper bourgeoisie and landed proprietors, recognized the right of autonomy for five out of the then nine *gubernias* * of the Ukraine. The second proclamation reiterated the indissoluble alliance with the counterrevolutionary Provisional Government.

Even after the October Revolution of 1917, which swept away the Provisional Government, the *Tsentralna Rada,* in its third edict proclaiming the creation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, kept harping on the necessity of preserving the "unity" of Russia, but a Russia run by moneyed and landed proprietors. In fact, the *Tsentralna Rada* was only one of a number of provincial governments set up in areas of the Don, Kuban, Northern Caucasus, in the Crimea. All of these governments were under the leadership of one all-Russian counterrevolutionary center.

Today, the nationalist historians do not like mentioning the first three edicts of the *Tsentralna Rada,* and if they do, they indulge in such misquoting that the texts are unrecognizable. At the same time, they praise to the skies the fourth edict, the Fourth Universal (January 22, 1918), the one that proclaimed the slogan of "Ukraine's independence." At this time the *Tsentralna Rada* began to deteriorate. Upris-

---

* *gubernia* — an administrative-territorial division

ings kept flaring up in various parts throughout territories controlled by counterrevolutionary and military forces. This was the case in Katerinoslav (now Dnipropetrovsk), and in January, 1918, workers of Kiev and Odessa rose up in arms. Revolutionary Red Guard units were approaching Kiev.

Finding themselves cornered, the *Tsentralna Rada* called in foreign troops. The first round of negotiations with Kaiser Germany failed to produce any results though. German diplomats were reluctant to commit Germany to open aggression against Soviet Russia, as talks to conclude a separate peace with her were under way in Brest-Litovsk at the time. But they put forward a plan by which the *Tsentralna Rada* would proclaim the secession of the Ukraine from Russia, thus giving Germany a formal excuse to enter into separate negotiations with an "independent" *Tsentralna Rada* and send its troops to the Ukraine.

At the same time the Germans turned a blind eye on the existence of the lawful government of Soviet Ukraine which was formed in December of 1917. The counterrevolutionary *Tsentralna Rada* and the secession of the Ukraine from Soviet Russia suited the expansionists and their plans much better.

It was then that the Fourth Universal of the *Tsentralna Rada* was concocted with much prompting from the German generals and diplomats. The *Rada's* envoys at the negotiations rushed back home with the German proposals in their bags; the *Tsentralna Rada* promptly proclaimed the slogan of "independence" and

the envoys shuttled back to meet the Germans again in Brest-Litovsk to make final arrangements for settling this treacherous matter.

The nationalists living in the West assert that the *Tsentralna Rada's* edict proclaimed the "independence and sovereignty" of the Ukraine on January 22, 1918. They also contend that the Fourth Universal was approved at a session of the *Tsentralna Rada* on January 28, 1918.

It is appropriate to mention in this connection that two days earlier Soviet troops under the command of Yuri Kotsyubinsky forced the nationalist bands of the *Tsentralna Rada* out of Kiev on January 26, 1918, and in a few days the Soviet Ukrainian government moved from the city of Kharkiv to Kiev. And as early as January 21, Vladimir Lenin, in a radio address, said that the power of the Kharkiv Central Executive Committee had been firmly established in the Ukraine.

Without waiting for the "official proclamation" of "independence" that would give them legal status, the *Rada's* envoys in Brest-Litovsk concluded a treaty with the Austrian and German imperialists on January 27 (February 9, New Style) and requested their aid in toppling Soviet power in the Ukraine.

The agreement with the *Tsentralna Rada* freed the hands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany. On February 18, the German Command sent 450,000 troops in the direction of Kiev, Minsk and Petrograd (now Leningrad). The invaders liquidated the revolutionary councils and plundered everything they could lay their hands on. In early May 1918,

practically the entire territory of the Ukraine was occupied.

The Ukrainian population paid with blood and loss of property for this "independence," which was propped up by foreign bayonets. On April 22, 1918, the *Tsentralna Rada* signed a treaty which turned the Ukraine into a supplier of raw material to Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire: the Ukraine had to provide about one million metric tons of grain, 45 thousand tons of meat, 400 to 500 million eggs, 614,000 tons of iron ore plus many other kinds of raw material and food. The treaty thus envisioned the Ukraine's total economic subservience to foreign interests.

What did the *Tsentralna Rada* gain by its treachery? The Austrian and German arms which supported the *Rada,* helped delay its downfall for three months. Shortly after the *Tsentralna Rada* signed the ignominious treaty, the Germans formed a new puppet government with *hetman* Pavlo Skoropadsky at its head. The *Tsentralna Rada* had been used to provide "a legal pretext" for invading the Ukraine and getting raw materials from her; then it was promptly removed from power, and thrown into the dustbin of history.

Dmytro Manuilsky, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Ministers) of the Ukrainian SSR, in addressing teachers from Western parts of the Ukraine on January 6, 1945, characterized the main features of Ukrainian nationalism. Manuilsky who, as a notable figure in the international communist and workers' movement, knew his subject well,

said in particular: "Ukrainian nationalism has never been 'national' in character as it has always served the interests of foreign ruling classes. It has never been independent, as it never derived support from its own people, but sought the backing of foreign troops."

Much of this still applies today, because the Ukrainian nationalists have remained hirelings in the service of foreign masters. They had very loudly insisted on independence before Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, but after the invasion began, they turned into obsequious toadies, treading the same path their predecessors had done in 1918. Now they keep clamoring again for an "independent and sovereign state," the way they did in 1918 and 1919, when the slogan of independence was put forward with much outside prompting. Actually, the Ukrainian nationalists are being used as spokesmen by Western anti-Sovietism; they keep calling for "a crusade" against the Soviet Union, hoping to realize their abominable plans of establishing their rule over the Ukrainian people with the help of a new world war.

The slogan of *sobornist* (conciliar unity) appeared in nationalist propaganda in 1919. This was the fruit of yet another decree that was passed on January 22, 1919, this time by the successor to the *Tsentralna Rada* — the so-called Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic headed by Volodimir Vinnichenko and Symon Petlura, leaders of the Ukrainian bourgeois and nationalist counterrevolution. The idea of *sobornist* came into being after the proclamation of the Western Ukrainian Nation-

al Republic in Lviv on November 1, 1918 and its later unification with the Ukrainian National Republic under counterrevolutionary and anti-democratic banners.

Ivan Makukh, a former minister of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (WUNR) wrote in his memoirs, published in the USA in the 1950s, that the "unification" involved only Lviv which was the scene of fighting with opponents of the WUNR. "All the energies and attention of the central Ukrainian state power were turned on the capital, and it left the provinces neglected..," he recalled; as a result, "provincial republics sprang up, each with its own administration."

Another characteristic feature that adds to the overall picture of the WUNR: its president and later self-styled "dictator" Yevhen Petrushevych, hailing from the town of Skole, was elected *in absentia* because at the time of the election he was visiting with his masters in Vienna, and returned to Western Ukraine only two months later.

The rallying cry of *sobornist* remained just a cry with no practical deeds to support it. Initially it was an attempt to unite the counterrevolutionary forces in Eastern and Western Ukraine against the revolutionary movement that was gaining momentum throughout the country so devastated by war. In 1919, in the month of January alone, before *sobornist* was proclaimed, the revolutionary forces entered Kharkiv, Chernihiv, Poltava, and Luhansk (now Voroshilovgrad) with the result that Soviet power was restored; the people of Hust, at a

mass rally resolved that their town be reunited with Soviet Ukraine.

The nationalists gained but very little from their *sobornist* publicity stunt. Probably, it allowed the leaders of the Directory to stop for some time in the town of Stanislav, then the seat of the WUNR "government" before they fled abroad.

The counterrevolutionary bourgeois nationalist *Tsentralna Rada* and the Directory proved a fiasco, and there was nothing accidental or adventitious about it: nationalism always fails whenever it tries to go against the revolutionary masses. This makes a specific feature of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists of all times: their ideas and schemes have proved to be barren, their plans have fallen through, and their deeds have ended in utter failure. That is why Ukrainian nationalism, no matter how hard it tries to advertise its "independence," is incapable of independent existence; for its history has been one of disloyalty to its people, and of serving foreign forces hostile to Ukraine.

And meanwhile the working people of the Ukraine have proved, not with slogans but by actual deeds, that they are the masters of their fate by building a sovereign united state which the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is today.

The people of Soviet Ukraine live a rich productive life, and have faith in the future. Their optimism will not be clouded by the vociferous campaigns that are every so often launched abroad, no matter what "national" guise they put on, or what "national" phraseology they choose.

The foes of Soviet power have failed to bring it down, though they have employed direct military intervention, raids of remnants of Petlura gangs and "insurgent-guerilla" units, created abroad. The economic, political and military union of many nationalities and ethnic groups, which came into being during the victorious struggle against their common enemies and throughout hardships, received official status in 1922 when a treaty to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was worked out. This union has ever since proved to be a guarantee for security and progress for its people.

Bourgeois nationalism in all of its varieties, in particular the one represented by the organizations of Ukrainian counterrevolutionaries, was used among other things for subversive acts against the world's first socialist state. Nationalism was falsely regarded as "a new, miraculous means" of breaking up the Soviet Union from within. But vain were the hopes of seeing the disintegration of the Soviet Union. No matter how hard Ukrainian nationalism tried to spread its activities across the borders into Soviet territory, it remained a foreign phenomenon, incapable of arresting the progress of the Ukraine.

Constant though fruitless attempts are made in the West to consolidate nationalistic groupings with a view of establishing a more effective "striking force," made up of various anti-socialist and anti-Soviet elements. It was along this line that the Ukrainian Military Organization,

the Union of Ukrainian Fascists and other suchlike groupings were brought together to form a new Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

This event took place at the nationalist congress in Vienna in January of 1929. It was preceded by the so-called First Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists, held in November 1927, which proclaimed its subversive intentions in quite unequivocal terms. It was convened in Berlin with much prompting from the German militarists and subversive elements in a ludicrous attempt to counterbalance the celebrations in the USSR marking the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, and the establishment of Soviet power.

The conference as a defiance stunt turned out to be a flop. Another conference, held in Prague in 1928, did not do much better either. The nationalists who had been kicked out of the Ukraine remained at loggerheads, vying with each other for prominent positions in emigrant circles, and not showing any readiness for partnership let alone consolidation. The fact that the conferences and congresses were held in foreign capitals (Berlin, Prague, Vienna) and, what is more important, the proclamations made, amply demonstrate that the Ukrainian nationalists can exist only abroad, and that their much vaunted "independence" is nothing more than a mercenary service-for-hire in many foreign aggressive and interventionist forces.

This unhappy "consolidation" is something that the enemies of the Soviet Union would

very much like to see realized at last. They are very eager to have all anti-Soviet elements "united in consorted action" but what they get is only disorder as each grouping strives to take the first place, the dominant one.

Right after the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, Hitler started preparations for war with the Soviet Union; the Führer considered the USSR to be the main obstacle in the road to realizing his maniacal designs for conquering the whole world. The Nazi military and intelligence secret service used everything and everybody they could lay hands on, including Ukrainian nationalists, for subversion against the USSR. The Nazi secret service came up with the idea of getting together representatives from the nationalist organizations, which were at variance with each other, at the All-Ukrainian National Congress and creating "a world union" of Ukrainian nationalists.

All too ready to oblige the Nazi secret service, the nationalists rushed to fulfil the new orders with their usual servility. As early as the summer of 1934 the Temporary Action Committee was set up in Lviv; it consisted of representatives from pro-fascist nationalist parties and organizations which had the cheek to style themselves Ukrainian. Lyubomir Makarushka, a protégé of the Nazis, was made Secretary of the Committee (in 1943 he was appointed head of the officers' personnel department on the military board of the SS *Halychyna* Division and felt honored that he could wear the uniform of SS *Hauptsturmführer*).

But the fervor and devotion to the Nazi cause

on the part of Makarushka and other members of the Action Committee proved insufficient to bring together into one pack the staunch separatists, "independents" and sectarians who aimed at getting the leadership of the nationalist emigration either from the German Nazis or from the Polish dictatorial pro-fascist military regime.

Ukrainian monarchists, nationalists from the OUN, and from the National Unity Front were the first to refuse to take part in "the All-Ukrainian National Congress" fearing that after the establishment of "the All-Ukrainian World Union" (which was the big idea behind the congress) they would have to share power with others, or still worse, that they would wind up being subordinate to other nationalist groupings.

An emigrant "world union" did not materialize then, but the idea remained very much alive. Therefore, on June 22, 1941, when the Nazi hordes spilled across the borders into the Soviet Union, the very same day it was announced in the administrative center of the occupation *Generalgouvernement* in the city of Cracow, Poland, that a congress of the Ukrainian "political" emigration had been held, and a Ukrainian National Committee set up with the purpose of "coordinating the efforts" of Ukrainian nationalists who once again demonstrated their allegiance to the Nazis. The formc head of the OUN leadership Andriy Melnyk admitted later that the hastily created committee "did not do anything worthwhile and, in fact, served as a cover to hide the real inten-

tions of the organizers." Indeed, the announcement that a congress had been allegedly held on such short notice,— all the arrangements and the actual sittings wrapped up in a day!— and the establishment of a "single" unifying "national committee" was no more than a smokescreen to cover the real intentions of the Abwehr and other Nazi secret services.

This was neither the first nor the last time that the Western secret services tried to bring about consolidation, at least on paper, of anti-Soviet factions of the Ukrainian emigration. There were more "councils," "general councils," "national committees," "international" and "world" coordinating centers still to come, but if they contrived to play any role whatsoever, then it was only as instruments in the hands of their real masters, that is, those in the West who gave them money.

As far as the nationalists themselves are concerned, they were assiduous in doing whatever they were told to do, and during the Second World War they went out of their way to gain favor with the German Nazis. They helped the Nazis destroy freedom-loving Soviet people, or force them into slavery. The so-called independents were especially servile; it was their phraseology that one of the top leaders — and one of the principal war criminals of the Third Reich — Hermann Göering — used in his cynical statement: "From now on and forever the Ukraine belongs to the Germans." Many Ukrainian nationalists served in the so-called Ukrainian auxiliary police force, in the punitive detachments, in the "armies," in the intelligence

and subversive agencies, and in local administrations set up in the occupied territories.

THEY WANTED TO "DEVELOP" THE OCCUPIED LANDS...

Soon after Nazi Germany unleashed the Second World War, it began direct preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union. Conquering Czechoslovakia, Poland, Belgium, Norway, France, Greece and other countries in quick succession, Germany was able to raise and equip 181 divisions which, the aggressor hoped, would be able to inflict a crushing defeat on the Soviet Union.

In accordance with the invasion plan of the USSR, known under the code name of *Barbarossa,* the German High Command set up the task before its armed forces of "defeating Soviet Russia in a *blitzkrieg*," thus ensuring the establishment of the Nazi "new order" throughout the whole of Europe. At the same time special agencies of the army, the Nazi security service (SD) and other agencies worked out ideological, propaganda, intelligence, sabotage and subversive measures to support the *Barbarossa* plan which was officially adopted in December of 1940.

Every detail was taken into consideration when these measures were being worked out: the necessary forces to be employed; the actual persons and dates involved; the necessity of "ensuring supporting actions in the rear" emphasized; and the operations designed "to

contribute in every possible way to the success" of the perfidious plan of the invasion. The diary of the Chief of the German General Staff (1939-1942), Colonel-General Halder, reveals that there were plans "to establish a special police force to support the *Barbarossa* operation"; "to set up local administrations in the occupied lands within the *Barbarossa* framework," etc. The German High Command issued orders to organize special occupation forces in the occupied territories, and set up *Kommissariat* departments (a sort of local government bodies); the functions of the SS *Reichsführer* (the Third-Reich Minister in charge of the SS — Nazi elite force) and the SS troops in the occupied territories were also determined. Hitler demanded that "the most cruel means of suppression be used in Russia" and, in fact, this demand was in the very core of "the special functions" assigned to the SS *Reichsführer* by the German High Command, and of the Nazi "Eastern policy" in general.

In the course of making preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union, a set of measures for "the development of the Eastern territories" was also worked out. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists were assigned a role in this too.

The published reports of Soviet border guards indicate that the majority of Nazi agents who were apprehended in attempts to illegally cross into the USSR from the West on spy missions in 1940-1941, turned out to be members of the OUN and other nationalist organizations. Two battalions, named *Roland* and *Nachtigall* (Nightingale) were formed in 1940, with nation-

alists making up their entire strengths. Later they were trained in sabotage and punitive operations at army intelligence and counterintelligence camps.

There were supporting plans to activate and bring together all of the anti-Soviet elements, in order to produce an impression that the Nazi occupation of the Soviet territories was greatly beneficial for the local population and was, in fact, the start of "a new life." These plans were drawn up on the basis of biased information supplied by secret agents from the Ukrainian nationalist organizations in the West, which exerted themselves in trying to convince their masters that the moment the Nazis marched in to the Ukraine, the entire nation would go down on its knees, vowing allegiance.

To please the maniacal Führer, the fevered imagination of the Nazi strategists painted an idyllic picture: Ukrainian nationalists in the West would forget their strife and mutual animosity, and sing praises to the occupying forces while the Ukrainian people obediently crawled into the crushing grip of the Nazi *boa constrictor.* And in the conquered land, freed to a great extent from the burden of the Slavs, the German supermen could establish their iron rule.

A disaster beyond all expectation hit the Soviet Union in June 1941: the Nazi armies broke through the borders, thinking to destroy the Red Army in one crushing blow, and to smash the resistance of the Soviet people.

In accordance with the plans of "development" of the occupied territories, special *Son-*

derführer officers arrived in the Ukraine in the wake of the advancing German armies, with the task of setting up local administrations, and converting the local population to fascism. Stepan Skrypnyk, who is now the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the USA (presently known under the name of Mstyslav) was in charge of the towns of Dubno and Rovno. At the same time, Yaroslav Stetsko, the right hand of Bandera and now the leader of the Munich-based OUN Foreign Branches, was sent to Lviv to help establish the Nazi "new order." On the very day that Lviv was occupied by the Nazis, June 30, 1941, Stetsko, in the presence of his bosses from the Nazi intelligence service, including *Hauptmann* Hans Koch and a group of hastily assembled local yes-men, proclaimed "the re-establishment of Ukrainian statehood" and "the setting-up of the government of the Western parts of the Ukraine." The head of this self-styled "government" (the nationalists insist on using the word "government") was no other than Stetsko himself.

A little later in 1941, Stetsko reported that the government he headed "has begun functioning... striving to establish the closest possible cooperation with German military officials and provide them with every possible assistance, deriving from our own resources whatever help could be provided for the German armed forces."

The Nazi intelligence officers were punctually fulfilling plans and directives whose execution was to begin after the war started. They went

ahead with this despite the tragicomic situation which developed that had not been foreseen in Berlin. The proclamation of "statehood" is a characteristic example. A gathering which was pompously called "the great rally of Ukrainians of the Western parts of the Ukraine" was organized within twelve hours after the Nazi troops entered Lviv. It is absolutely clear that under such conditions no democratic principles for adequate representation could be observed.

The Fourth Universal (The Act of Proclamation of Ukrainian Statehood) as this farcical document was officially called, declared "the creation of a Ukrainian state." It was obvious to anyone who cared to give it a thought in 1941, and still more obvious today, that no real state could have been created under such ridiculous conditions.

For over four decades the nationalist henchmen of Bandera and Stetsko, along with those hacks who have never had a chance to see the actual text of the Universal have been noisily insisting that it mentioned the whole of the Ukraine. What the Universal actually said was: "In the Western parts of the Ukraine, Ukrainian (state) power is coming into force; it is placed under the Ukrainian national government which will be created in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine."

This legally null and void Universal mentioned, as we see, only the Western parts of the Ukraine, and the establishment of state power that could acquire a certain legal status only after the creation of "a national government"

in Kiev. But no such government was ever formed, and the government proclaimed by Stetsko lacked any legal power even in the Western parts of the Ukraine, let alone the whole of the Ukraine. Thus the premiership of Stetsko was a phony one, no matter how often he repeated later that he had been and remained ever since "the Prime Minister of the Ukraine."

Stetsko and his government bear the collective responsibility for the massacres perpetrated by the *Nachtigall* Battalion which moved into Lviv together with the German troops. Using the black lists drawn up beforehand, the *Nachtigall* troops shot and tortured to death thousands of people, there being many prominent scholars, scientists and political figures with their families among the victims. The battalion was under the command of a German, *Oberleutnant* Albrecht Hertzner, and of *Hauptmann* Tur, alias Roman Shukhevich who was one of the leaders of the terroristic Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and a deputy minister for military affairs in the government of Stetsko. A German, *Oberleutnant* Theodor Oberländer, an agent from a sabotage department of the army intelligence service, was in charge of political affairs in the battalion.

It was with bloody massacres that the "independent" Bandera-Stetsko government, called into being by the Nazi secret services, began its work. Evidently, this was the way the Imperial Leader of the Nazi Party Alfred Rosenberg envisioned the exercise of local administration, when he put forward the idea of "dividing the territories, inhabited by the Russians into dif-

ferent political regions, each with its own organ of local government."

A careful appraisal of the Universal "demonstrates unequivocally that the secret services and other contributors to the *Barbarossa* plan, in charge of ideological matters and sabotage, judged incorrectly. And that their hopes proved all in vain: the population of occupied Western Ukraine — occupied but not broken in spirit — did not go along with the political maneuverings of Stetsko, Shukhevich and their likes, and thus the proclamation of statehood misfired.

As far as the *Nachtigall* Battalion (presented as a prototype of the Ukrainian army) is concerned, it was attached to the Special Police Battalion 201 in early 1942, and was later used in punitive operations against Soviet partisans and civilian resistance.

Hitler, intoxicated by the initial successes on the Eastern front, introduced corrections into what he considered outdated plans, originally designed "to create superficial effects," and into the drafts, which had been worked out before the war, of the political and administrative organization in "the occupied Eastern territories." Shortly after the German troops invaded the Soviet Union, Hitler announced that Germany was going to relieve Eastern nations of "any form of state organization." In accordance with his directive of July 17, 1941, dealing with the administration of the occupied territories, an Eastern Ministry was set up in Berlin with Rosenberg at its head. The plan of genocide in the Ukraine and its colonization, bearing no masks, was set in motion.

The Nazi leadership of Germany did not delay starting an extensive exploitation of the occupied lands and putting into practice the horrifying plans of exterminating the Slavic people. In the occupied territories, including the Ukraine, alongside the Eastern Ministry, the German Army Command, special SS units, and plunderers from the department run by Göering (who was then in charge of Germany's war economy) began exercising the horrible duties assigned them by the directives of Hitler.

In the Nazi plans, the Ukraine was downgraded to a mere economic appendage, a colony, and its population was either to be exterminated or Germanized, the Germanization being applied to some of those who stayed on their land. Under such conditions all projects for establishing any "form of state organization" and/or "local authority" were scrapped, though they had been originally included into the supporting plans within the *Barbarossa* framework.

The Nazis felt they no longer needed the regional government of Stetsko in Lviv. They disbanded this ephemeral government that had never acquired any legal status, and put its members to other uses. The same happened to the Ukrainian National Council headed by Mykola Velychkivsky, which was set up in Kiev soon after the Nazis occupied the city.

Yaroslav Stetsko himself served at a post given him by his Nazi bosses, almost to the end of the war. Shortly before the fall of the Third Reich he was transferred to the *Werwolf* units which the doomed Nazi leadership raised

as a last means in the futile attempt to stem the tide of the advancing Soviet and Allied troops. For Stetsko the war ended when he was badly wounded in an American air raid on a column of SS vehicles, in which he and other *Werwolf* members were driving to a mountain hide-out.

Ever since the final defeat of Nazi Germany and the trial of Nazi criminals, the nationalists have been trying to re-write history and present the Universal as one that really re-established Ukrainian statehood, or even as an Act that was directed against Nazi Germany itself. Special emphasis is put on the fact that the German authorities retracted their initial decision, and thought it undesirable to have any local government — no matter how puppet-like or nationalist it would be. As a matter of fact, the Western parts of the Ukraine were proclaimed to be a territory that had belonged to Germany "from time immemorial" only one month to the day after the Fourth Universal, and were included into the so-called *Generalgouvernement* which was made up of occupied Polish and other Slavic lands.

Fraudulently playing on the ignorance in this matter on the part of some Ukrainians living in the West, and on the passage of time, the nationalist falsifiers deliberately avoid quoting one essential passage from the Universal which pledges that "the new Ukrainian state, that is coming into being, will collaborate with National-Socialist Great Germany which, under the guidance of Adolf Hitler, is bringing new order to Europe, and to the world..." It would

be quite detrimental to the nationalists to quote it today. But soon after the proclamation of the Universal, Stetsko, well knowing his role in the disgusting play the Nazi secret services were staging, wrote to Hitler: "The victory of German arms will give us a chance to contribute to the building up of a new Europe you have planned, in its Eastern part too."

Everything here is very simple and clear-cut Hitler made plans and Stetsko's role was to extol and eulogize him, and do everything he was told. The only thing that he was really eager to secure, was his position in — in his own words — "the new fascist regime," and the higher the better.

Proceeding from the same lack of knowledge of some of the facts of the past among the present generation, Stetsko now presents his few days at the head of "the regional administration of the Western parts of the Ukraine" as no less a feat than occupying the post of "the premier of the government of independent Ukraine." This all too apparent prevarication has been readily picked up by the reactionaries in the West, and blown out of all proportions, so that Stetsko, this self-proclaimed "premier" and war criminal, is received in the US Congress and British Parliament. He is often referred to as a major figure in anti-communist and anti-Soviet organizations.

Stetsko's impertinent bragging, and his glorifiers' panegyrics, caused resentment even among the nationalists. The Munich-based magazine *Ukrainsky Samostiynyk* (Ukrainian Independent) had to admit in one of its issues

that "Stetsko is suffering from a mania of exaggeration, a morbid imagination and from sick fantasies, which he seems to believe himself. Exactly the way he convinced himself that he was once prime-minister of the Ukraine, so he now believes that he directs a revolution for the liberation of all Slavic non-Russian peoples." Another Munich-based magazine *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word), in addressing members of the OUN Foreign Branches, wrote: "Your fratricidal acts, your serving Hitler's plans are known to the Ukraine, and your inglorious deeds are known to the world. The air of being representatives of the people and of men who express their aspirations, that Stetsko and his like have assumed, makes them only ridiculous."

Meanwhile, Stetsko and his henchmen, liberally financed from across the ocean, each year mark the occasion of this act of treachery of June 30, 1941, as an act of the "re-establishment of Ukrainian statehood," and call upon Ukrainians living outside the Ukraine, especially the young, to follow in the footsteps of the nationalists of the 1940s. It is a direct call to imitate the career of the war criminal Stetsko, the career of serving Nazi Germany or other reactionary forces which have succeeded the Nazis in the mad desire for world supremacy and for "a new order" in countries whose political systems are not to their liking.

But there are not too many gullible individuals left now in the West, and it is getting increasingly more difficult for the OUN to dupe them. At the same time, the desire and determination to preserve the peace, which cost so

much to bring about, are growing stronger. The international community is more resolute than ever in saying "No" to warmongers, terrorists, and those who clamor for new "crusades" and their nationalist yes-men.

THEY OFFERED THEIR SERVICES AGAIN... FOR MONEY, OF COURSE

The defeat of Nazi Germany unseated the nationalists from the war horse they had been riding. But soon enough they were back in the saddle. The Gestapo, the Abwehr, SD — security service were soon substituted by new bosses from the British Intelligence Service, the American CIO and other Western spy services. New anti-Soviet unions, associations, and societies mushroomed in the West.

Shortly after Churchill's notorious 1946 Fulton speech, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was set up to join the pack of subversive "international" organizations. Its leadership for many years was made up of hard-core fascists, former SS-men and SD *Sonderführers*: Alfreds Bérzins, a minister in the Latvian fascist government up to 1940, nicknamed the "Latvian Göebbels"; Volodimir Tomashchyk, SD *Sonderführer* (a Nazi secret service officer) from Byelorussia; *Waffen* SS officers Niko Nakashidze and Mikhail Alshibaya; Veli Kajum Khan, an official from the Third Reich's Eastern Ministry; agent provocateur Garip Sultan, one of those who were responsible for betraying Musa Jalil, national hero and poet of the Tartar people. The list of Nazi criminals who found

their way into the ABN could be indefinitely continued. True, their number has decreased: some have retired into their "independent corners," having fallen foul of each other; others have departed for good. But one of the leaders of the Bloc has remained firmly in place. This is Yaroslav Stetsko, a former agent of Italian fascists and German Nazis, the chairman of the board of the so-called OUN Foreign Branches.

The war criminals did not feel much difference in working for the ABN, compared to working for the Nazi SS and secret services, as the new bosses from the British and American intelligence services wanted them to do very much the same thing: to fight against everything Soviet. Their phraseology too remained pretty much the same as it had been under the Nazis: in its appeal, issued to counteract the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the October Revolution, the ABN Committee stated that it was the ABN that had "the great duty of calling upon the world to launch a new crusade" against the USSR.

In the preparations to counteract the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Great October, it was Andriy Melnyk, OUN leader and a former Nazi secret agent known under the conspiratorial name of Consul One, who came forward with the idea of holding a nationalist "world congress" in the city of Toronto in 1957. Melnyk was the man who, on addressing his subordinate OUN members with New Year's greetings for 1942, said that "they must help" the Nazi invaders "purposefully and methodically in the crusade against Moscow, despite

all difficulties." This was the same man who later, arguing for the expediency of a thermonuclear war against the USSR, said that "this would be a lesser evil for the peoples of both East and West."

Was it in connection with a plan — one in a series of other similar plans — to inflict nuclear blows on major cities of the Soviet Union which the United States was preparing to do in 1957, that American agent Melnyk began speaking about a consolidation of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations based in the West? It would be appropriate to recall here that Melnyk, who styled himself "the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists," had never taken any such steps on his own initiative. He had written his appeals and solemn promises to Hitler, Keitel and other Nazi leaders on receiving instructions from his bosses in the Nazi secret service and, after the approval of the Abwehr (counterintelligence service) Colonel Alfred Bizanz, passed them on through *Abwehrstelle-II-Cracow* and other secret service agencies. Melnyk never did anything without the approval of Nazi, and later American, "special agencies." So, when he put forward his idea of convening "a world congress," it was because his bosses thought it was what was needed at the moment.

It took ten years for the First World Congress of Free Ukrainians to come together in New York in November of 1967. At last, the idea of the Nazi secret services reached its realization. True, no real "world union" emerged, even with the support of US dollars, and the Con-

gress turned into just a big get-together. But the departments of the CIA and FBI, concerned with the matter, could report that they had put up a wonderful stunt to counteract the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The European Freedom Council (EFC) was formed in Munich the same year — 1967 — with Ole Bjorn Kraft, an extreme right-wing Danish conservative, at its head. The EFC from the start was a hard-core anti-communist and anti-Soviet organization, and a tool in the hands of the US secret service for ideological subversion. Yaroslav Stetsko and the renegade Ivan Matteo Lombardo, a former Italian government minister, were appointed to join Kraft as the leaders of the EFC. The triumvirate was joined by Theodor Oberländer, a former Federal minister of the West German government; incidentally, during the Second World War he was an intelligence officer and a political leader of the *Nachtigall* and *Bergmann* battalions which used terror in trying to establish the Nazi "new order" in the Nazi-occupied parts of the Soviet territory.

In its very first document, published as its resolution, the EFC stated in very categorical terms: "On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary... a joint manifesto is to be published... for coordination during a week in November... of mass rallies, gatherings and demonstrations." The EFC Charter says that the European Freedom Council is a coordinating center of anti-communist organizations; it condemns, and fights against, conspiracies, subversion, terror-

ism and guerilla activities in the free world." In the phraseology of the anti-communists, the "free world" does not include the socialist countries; this fact clearly shows that the EFC and its bosses regard terrorism and sabotage as permissible weapons against "communist-bloc nations," but at the same time, terrorism and sabotage are taboo in the "free-world countries."

The sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the USSR was met with a new upsurge of anti-Soviet frenzy on the part of various sophisticated opponents of everything positive and progressive. They "marked" this anniversary by holding conferences of the World Anti-Communist League, Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, League of Asian Anti-Communist Youth. "Global strategy" in combating communism and the socialist countries, was the main theme at the conferences.

In connection with the approaching 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the Western anti-communists are preparing their new "anti-measures." "Demonstrations of protest" are to be held, and appeals are being made to do everything that might harm the Soviet Union, or at least spoil the mood of the Soviet people and of the citizens of other socialist countries friendly to the Soviet Union.

The Ukrainian nationalist groupings, based in the West, are also getting ready for their new scandalous publicity stunts. But as is evident from history, their and their bosses' attempts to impose their rule or their way of thinking on the Soviet Ukrainian people have always failed.

It would be very appropriate here to quote some lines from a poem by the major Ukrainian poet Pavlo Tychina, which have become a catchphrase:

Let them rave,
And let them bark,—
We'll sail forward
In our ark.

On the one hand, indignation is growing over the provocative activities of frantic anti-communists in all countries of the world where there are communities of people of Ukrainian descent or for that matter, where there are people of any ethnic background who are striving for peace and friendship among nations. On the other hand, there is a growing desire to develop friendship with the Soviet Union, which so steadfastly and effectively defends the rights of all people to life, peace, work and happiness.

THEY PUT THEIR YOUNG PEOPLE UP FOR SALE...

Regardless of the fact whether the older generation of people is satisfied or dissatisfied with their offspring, the Problem (with a capital P, as the magnitude of the problem deserves notation) common to all mankind is to ensure peace for the younger generation, and the opportunity for them to develop and improve, as befits the future guardians of the earth. Young people have the right to a better life and a better future, compared to what their parents had. Young people of Ukrainian descent living

in the West, are entitled to this right too. Their parents, grandparents or great grandparents came in their time to the USA, Canada and to other Western countries, driven out from their native land by adversities. But these young people come under constant pressure from subversive and shady characters who try to lead astray the young, who lack sufficient life experience, and set them on the pernicious road of subversion against the Ukraine, the land of their fathers.

Especially active are instigators from the Bandera-style Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists Foreign Branches (OUN FB), and its subordinate Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine in the USA, from the League of Liberating Ukraine in Canada, and from the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) which has branches in many countries with Ukrainian emigrant communities.

Similar to a criminal who knows he is cornered and doomed to death, and wants to drag all those around him into the grave, the OUN FB leaders intend to destroy the young people of Ukrainian descent by involving them in their OUN perfidious politics. In the major report made at the Great Gathering of the OUN, and later in articles appearing in *Shlyakh Peremohy* (The Path of Victory), *Homin Ukrainy* (Echo of the Ukraine) and other Bandera-style publications, the nationalist bawlers used entreaties, threats, persuasions and demands in their attemps to get a new grip on the young; they resorted even to introducing military drills under the command of sophisticated green beret

instructors in naked and armed kill, and former SS-men and Nazi special agents. They bellowed: "Our youth must be militarized!"; "The young activists must be militarized in the first place!"; "The youth recreation camps must be run as military camps!"; "The members of the Ukrainian Youth Association must be given access not to swimming pools with temperature-conditioned water, not to comfortable beds in posh apartments, not to dainty food, but to field tents, trenches"; "The dormitories where young people live must be turned into military barracks!"; "Experienced UPA veteran instructors must make soldiers out of our young people; our young people must be taught to dig bunkers — now!"

The special "resolution concerning the OUN youth" that was passed by the same Great Gathering decreed:

"to provide the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) with shooting ranges;

to organize military studies at youth organizations with the help of young people themselves;

to introduce a militarized routine wherever possible...;

to have obligatory military subjects studied at the camps of the SUM and other youth organizations"; and so forth in the same vein.

Maybe there exists the threat of an imminent attack on the SUM camps in the USA, Canada and Great Britain, so that they are getting ready for self-defense? No, there is no need to defend the camps against potential enemies, or local gangsters. The OUN leaders state openly that the paramilitary groups — trained in for-

eign armies and at local nationalist camps and military clubs, at shooting clubs of the SUM and other youth organizations — are needed as an obedient force to carry out subversion and sabotage against the socialist countries; in other words, these young people are to be used in the sphere of activity of the Western nationalist organizations which is their immediate task, and for which they are receiving ample sums in dollars, franks, pounds and other Western currencies.

The Resolution of the Great Gathering on Youth Activity has the following clause: "Those young people who are less inclined to theoretical studies must be trained in technical subjects so as to meet the requirements in communication, passing on information and other kinds of actions." In other words, the young nincompoops need not despair: they'll have lots of work to do too, providing communication links, spreading vicious lies in print and by word of mouth. "Other kinds of actions" do not require much brains either. In the eyes of the nationalist leaders it is even better that those who are to carry out their actions are mindless puppets, unable to see the real meaning and consequences of the things they are told to do.

One can easily discern the Nazi style in the way the current OUN FB leaders plan to use their young people. During the Second World War the nationalists pushed Ukrainian youth into the jaws of the animal most dangerous to men — fascism. Then, as well as today, by the way, it was done under the cover of "patriotic" slogans, but was, in fact, a means and a source

of making a profit at the expense of the young people who paid with their blood.

In their attempts to win over the young people, the Bandera criminals from the OUN FB put their highest stakes on the Ukrainian Youth Association, an organization that emerged from the icy waves of the *cold war* that was stirred up by Churchill's instigative Fulton speech, delivered soon after the *hot* war. After special training, SUM members are actively used on spy and other subversive missions in the Soviet Union, and against Soviet citizens travelling abroad. The spy and sabotage centers are only too glad to use these young men from SUM and other nationalist organizations, and do not spare expenses in training them, providing them with everything necessary, and packing them off on their subversive missions.

Among those who were caught red-handed in the USSR, there were quite a few "tourists" from the SUM, some of whom were the sons of former SS-men and other war criminals. And all those who come to the Soviet Union disguised as tourists, but on special missions from the CIA, or British Intelligence Service or West German *Bundesnachrichtendienst,* will be apprehended and unmasked.

But the Western secret services do not care what becomes of the young people of Ukrainian descent. They are paying the money and want to get things done their way, no matter what. It should be noted, however, that many of the young people, including those who have been dragged into the nationalist organizations, are reluctant to go to the Soviet Union on their

spy missions; they extricate themselves and escape from the nationalist traps of the SUM: the SUM of America, SUM of Canada, PLAST and other "youth," "teenager" and "student" organizations.

When the exodus of young people begins to acquire alarming proportions, the nationalist bosses start shouting for help, launch campaigns, resort to arm-twisting and blackmail, trying to bring the young people under their control by all means, so as to be able to use them for their vile purposes.

For decades, the nationalist leaders have been claiming that "the problem of young is an urgent problem for Ukrainian communities both in the USA and Canada." It is not the urgent problems that face mankind that they are worried about; their problem is how to get the young people into their organizations, and how to make them take part in anti-Soviet activities. It has become the main theme at "world" (the pompous word they use to cover the local character of the gatherings) meetings of PLAST in West Germany, USA, Canada, (only a few dozen delegates and guests assembled in Toronto for the "world" event).

Toronto was also the scene of the SUM "world" congress whose nature can be glimpsed even from the fact that the leading posts in the Association were given to hard-core nationalists and neo-fascists who had "distinguished" themselves in the service of US and other countries' special agencies.

The SUM leaders decided to hold their "world gathering of the SUM" (in their parl-

ance, *gathering* ranks higher than *congress*) in Los Angeles in 1984. No guesswork is needed here to determine the aims of the "gathering." The nationalists themselves explained it in their paper *Shlyakh Peremohy:* "this gathering is planned to be held to coincide with the 23rd Olympic Games." In the same issue, the paper informed that lodging had been found for 300 people, and that the SUM leaders in West Germany were going to send their people to Los Angeles.

Members of the West German branch of the SUM committed outrageous acts during the 20th Olympic Games which were held in Munich in 1972. A sizeable group of seasoned "down-with-Olympics" toughs was dispatched to the 21st Olympic Games in Montreal. They did their thing, shouting abuse and indulging in all kinds of acts of disruption and interference. But the Soviet athletes, both at the 20th and the 21st Olympic Games, won enough medals to ensure first place for the Soviet team in overall points. And this was what the nationalists and their bosses sought to prevent; the Soviet athletes, among whom were people of various nationalities, showed a solid front of patriotism and internationalism.

There were also quite a few ruffians and disrupters from the SUM and other secret service-sponsored nationalist organizations, attending the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid in 1980. They tried again to interfere with athletes from the socialist countries, but once more with no result.

As there was a real threat to the dignity of So-

viet athletes as human beings and Soviet citizens in the wild outburst of anti-Sovietism in Los Angeles, and as the intentions of some groupings to create intolerable conditions for the Soviet sports delegations were widely known, the USSR National Olympic Committee decided that it would be impossible for the Soviet athletes to take part in the 23rd Olympic Games; the Committee also sharply condemned the violations of the Olympic Charter by the US administration, and its desire to use the games in Los Angeles for its political purposes.

In fact, the official USA services, responsible for providing security at the Games, refused to guarantee security for the Soviet and some other delegations. What's more, with the connivance of, and even encouragement from, the US authorities, many extremist and terrorist anti-communist organizations were preparing to stage provocations, and even subject athletes from the socialist and other countries to physical violence. Thus, by instigating the extremists against foreign athletes, the American side committed gross violations of the rules of the Olympic Charter and of the Olympic movement, whose aim is to educate young people through athletics and games, in the spirit of better mutual understanding and friendship, contributing in this way to making the world a better and more peaceful place to live in.

Washington appears not to care much about the fate of the young people, but rather pushes them into activity directed against peace and mutual understanding between peoples. Such a pernicious road can lead only to tragedy.

THEY QUARRELED, MADE UP...
ONLY TO START QUARRELING AGAIN

The frequent change of masters whom the OUN leaders have served, has without doubt affected the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and it has come down to the present day in the form of three organizations at loggerheads with each other.

The parental OUN, or the Melnykite OUN, as it is sometimes called after Andriy Melnyk who headed it for a long time, is now headed by Mykola Plawiuk; the Melnykite OUN would very much like to see all the break-away OUN organizations brought together again under its command. To achieve this end, the OUN wants to convince other nationalist organizations and their bosses from the Western special services that only such a unity would make it possible to carry out well-coordinated, united activities against the USSR and other socialist nations.

The so-called OUN Foreign Branches which follow in the footsteps of Bandera, are also seeking domination over the nationalist organizations. Back in the late 1930s, Bandera tried to gain control over the entire OUN but his attempts led only to the break-up of the OUN and continuous wrangling which has not stopped even now. Yaroslav Stetsko, the present head of the OUN FB, cannot overcome his opponents from the Melnyk-Plawiuk OUN. His megalomania, and thirst for blood and destruction, come up against a growing resentment which has spread even among his closest associates.

The cessionists from the OUN FB, the OUN-Abroad (OUN-A), are also after the leadership of the nationalist organizations on "a global level." There is nothing surprising in their persistence since the leadership of the OUN-A is firmly in the hands of the CIA agents, and it acts in strict accordance with the instructions it receives from the CIA; no wonder it readily follows the line of Washington's hegemonic ambitions.

Who will win in this internal strife? One can say with certainty that no winner will emerge, no matter how hard they try — these leaders of all the OUN factions and their bosses from the special agencies of the Western countries.

The continuing squabbles among the OUN factions over supremacy and better access to the crumbs from their master's table, their undiminishing desire to do evil, fill one with disgust and indignation. An increasing number of rank-and-file members of the nationalist organizations, who have been duped by the OUN leaders, are beginning to see things clearly: they leave the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and resign from its activities.

As far as the majority of Ukrainians living in the West are concerned, they are firm in their rejection of the terrorist mercenary factions of the OUN, all those Melnykites, Banderite Foreign Branches, OUNites abroad, and other carriers of misanthropic viruses, because the OUN and its goals have nothing to do with the aspirations of Ukrainians living abroad, let alone the Ukrainian people of Soviet Ukraine.

The strife among the three OUN factions affects many other nationalist organizations, based in the West. The Association of UPA Veterans and The Brotherhood of Veterans of the 1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army, which unites former SS-men from the SS *Halychyna* Division, are on the warpath too. The former SS-men try to get the better of UPA, veterans insisting — not without reason — that a considerable number of the UPA commanders had been trained in the SS *Halychyna* Division. The former *Scharführer* of this division, Vasyl Veryha, presently a Melnykite wrote in his memoirs, entitled *On the Roads of the Second World War* (1980, Toronto) that "those who were trained in this division became the backbone of the UPA," and that the division "strengthened the UPA... at officers' and instructors' levels."

It's always nice to hear the truth: it was the Nazi SD security service which, even before the UPA was formed, were training "insurrectionists" to be smuggled into Soviet Ukraine. In 1943 the Nazi SS and the Abwehr put Roman Shukhevych, the *Nachtigall* Battalion *Hauptmann,* in command of the UPA; prior to this appointment he was one of the commanding officers of the 201st Special Police Battalion which was a subordinate unit within the SS- and Police Corps operating in the Nazi-occupied territory of Byelorussia.

But Bandera's followers are not the kind of people to come to terms with Melnyk's followers, no matter how insignificant the point of contention might be, and Anatoliy Bedriy,

one of the leaders of the Bandera faction of the OUN, and of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations came out against Veryha. Calling them "inept and naive," Bedriy ridiculed Veryha's attempts to twist the facts and present the SS *Halychyna* Division, sponsored by Himmler himself, as almost fighting against Nazi Germany. Bedriy was dumbfounded to read in Veryha's memoirs the author's condemnation of the Bandera faction of the OUN as a "bloodthirsty" totalitarian and dictatorial group which strove to dominate all other nationalist groupings "even at the cost of spilling blood of dissident compatriots." In a big article which appeared in the Banderite magazine *Vyzvolny Shlyakh* (Road of Freedom) published in London, Bedriy undertook to outdo Veryha and extoll his OUN-UPA. He tried very hard to convince his readers that the OUN-UPA compared with the SS *Halychyna* Division, had rendered greater services to the Nazis, as it "had been in action even before the division was formed, and continued fighting after the *Halychyna* was disbanded"; the UPA had better commanders and so on. Incidentally, Bedriy listed Roman Shukhevych, the Abwehr and *Schutzpolizei Hauptmann,* among these "better" UPA commanders.

Bandera and Melnyk followers want to be first even in such an ignominious matter as treachery. Are not the Melnyk's follower Veryha and the Bandera's follower Bedriy trying to prove that it was the OUN faction (together with the SS *Halychyna* Division or the UPA) that was of greater use to Nazi Ger-

many. And they are not just speaking of collaborationism, but of Bandera- and Melnyk-faction OUN members directly serving Nazi Germany. To make the point still more clear, a brief history of the SS *Halychyna* Division and other similar military units created by the Nazis, is given below.

Every October, the nationalists in the West stage celebrations of "Arms Day" and organize "the remembrance of those who died for the Ukraine." This vague phraseology is used to mark the anniversaries of the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in October of 1942.

This misleading name was coined by the former owner of a stone quarry, and a shop for making crosses and gravestones, by the name of Taras Borovets; this was the man who under the assumed name of Taras Bulba (the name was borrowed from a popular novel by Gogol) commanded in 1941-1942 the anti-partisan units in the area of Volyn. Bulba's UPA units "Polissya Sich" were armed by the Nazis and were subordinate to the Nazi Security Service (SD).

Later, the name of UPA was appropriated by the Bandera's armed units in which a notable figure was Maxim Ruban, alias Mykola Lebed, alias "Lieutenant Vilniy" who commanded in 1939-1940 the Ukrainian Trainee Company which had been set up by the German SD in the Nazi-occupied Polish town of Zakopane. The terrorist methods of running the UPA, and the hundred-percent fascist regulations, introduced by Ruban, were later described by former UPA members as "the most horrible tragedy of our last bloody war years."

In 1943, the 31st SD punitive unit was created; it was made up mostly of Melnyk's faction OUN members, and sometimes it was also provocatively called the Ukrainian Legion of Self-Defense.

Himmler's Department which was responsible for the Gestapo, SS and SD, created the SS *Halychyna* Division in 1943; it was made up of Nazi collaborators and nationalists. And it was not something unique within the framework of SS troops. Similar units, made up of Nazi collaborationists, were formed in Albania, Bosnia, Denmark, France and some other occupied countries. It was not "national army" — as the nationalists want to prove — that the Nazis were after, but routine reinforcements of SS troops.

Detachments from the SS *Halychyna* Division were dispatched many times to stop the gaps in the Eastern front, but most of the time this division, as a SS unit, was used for punitive and anti-Resistance operations; it also took part in shooting Jews and prisoners of war. The division burned dozens of villages, shot or tortured to death tens of thousands of people. The Headquarters of the division reported: such and such "villages have been burned down, pacified, depopulated." And what a terrible reality stood behind these lines: thousands of people hanged, tortured to death, poisoned in the *Gaswagen* (gas chambers, mounted on trucks), burned alive, shot, and among them hundreds of children stabbed, burned or drowned in water wells.

The 1946 International Military Tribunal at

the Nuremberg Trials of the principal German war criminals found the Nazi party, Gestapo, SS and SD to be criminal organizations, and their members — guilty of crimes. But some of the Western countries ignored the verdict of the International Tribunal, and instead of punishing Nazi criminals, gave them shelter, with a view to using them later in anti-communist and anti-Soviet activities.

It was made known to former Gestapo and SS-men that there was a good chance of finding refuge in the West. In the late 1940s-early 1950s, interned persons in Austrian, West German and Italian camps were subjected to propagandistic pressure to cross the ocean and settle down there. The leaflets, calling upon the inmates to apply for going to the USA and Canada promised, among other things: "Your activity will not be restricted by any law." And the governments of the USA and Canada, and of some other countries kept the promise.

Proceeding from the political situation at one or another time, former SS-men either kept quiet or — which happened more often — organized their public rallies (*sabbath* seems to be a more appropriate word to be used here), displaying their war decorations and insignia. For war criminals, hiding abroad from their just punishment, their former service in the SS and SD has become an additional source of income on the spy markets. The nationalists are even vying for the right to be called a member of the SS or SD units.

Many of the SS and SD veterans from the SS *Halychyna* Division or from the 31 SD punitive

unit Ukrainian Legion of Self-Defense or from the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, find life very enjoyable in the West, especially when the *cold-war* winds begin to blow and new crusades against communism and socialism begin to be preached. But their crimes have been neither forgotten nor forgiven, and nothing will ever lighten their crimes against mankind.

In their struggle for supremacy, some of the nationalist organizations manage to get the upper hand, and stay on top for a few months, but others stretch it longer.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), based in the USA, was considered to be a coordinating center of the nationalist emigration for forty years. The nationalist leaders spoke of it in laudatory terms: "the world's greatest public and social center"; "the most representative organization," and even "the parliament of free Ukrainians of America." But the truth of the matter is that it has never represented Ukrainians living abroad. At the most, it has been an exponent of the interests of those nationalist leaders who, at one or another stage of their internal strife, managed to get themselves into leading positions in the UCCA. The internal frictions in the UCCA became especially bitter after the Second World War, when it had been joined by organizations made up of members of fascist formations which began to determine the main direction of activity for all other nationalist organizations in the USA.

The 13th "jubilee" congress of the UCCA proved to be fatal for the UCCA. The event,

held to mark the 40th anniversary of the UCCA, became the arena of wild conflagrations between the pretenders to the leading positions from the Banderite faction of the OUN. They failed to seize power in the UCCA, but the strife led to the break-up of this "most representative" coordinating organization: 27 nationalist organizations, which characterized the situation in the UCCA as "the most wretched of any," withdrew from the UCCA.

Yaroslav Haivas, former head of the Melnyk's faction intelligence service (later he changed his allegiance and went over to the Banderite faction), in analyzing the crisis in the UCCA, said that "to the fore came... old animosities, ambitions and, in general, our usual internal strife, over which the common goal is forgotten; these led to an eruption." In his article on the same subject, which appeared in the Munich-based *Shlyakh Peremohy,* he summarized the situation: "The UCCA has become the focal point of our public and social conflict, its meaningful symbol and sensitive barometer."

The current situation in the UCCA demonstrates, on the one hand, the general crisis in the Ukrainian nationalist organizations based in the West and, on the other, the dependence of the majority of such organizations on the secret services of their host countries, with their leaders being either full-time or part-time agents of these services. The Ukrainian Congress Committee, for example, before the break-up at the 13th congress, was headed by a US intelligence officer — Colonel Leo-Eugene Dobriansky.

The appointment of such officers from the "cloak-and-dagger" department to leading positions in the nationalist organizations, the financing of these organizations from the notorious "private" funds which also nourish *Radio Liberty* and *Radio Free Europe* and other subversive organizations, will keep the nationalist organizations going along the same anti-Soviet lines they have been programmed to follow. Against this background, it is all the easier to see that nationalist organizations cannot do their dirty job without having dollar injections administered to them, and their practical and ideological activities, directed against the true interests of people, are seen in their right perspective.

AND THEY'VE WOUND UP WITH NOTHING LEFT IN THEIR HANDS

It is true that the major Ukrainian nationalist organizations in the West do not complain about the lack of financial aid, or lack of attention from the secret services, or even high-ranking political figures.

But the international situation is constantly changing. The USSR — a union of free Soviet Republics — is getting stronger. The nationalists change their masters who prefer to use them whenever they feel that direct interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union may lead to undesirable consequences. If need be, officials can disavow any connection with the nationalists' infamous activity. To cover up,

they talk about the "freedoms" and "rights" of those in their hire, and organize their confabs which have a distinctly anti-Soviet character.

The nationalists, anxious to show their fund suppliers that the latter are getting their money's worth, go into frenzied activity every time the Soviet Union celebrates one of its memorable dates.

The participants of these anti-Soviet escapades are mostly very old, or well past middle age. These moth-eaten babblers get together to pour out the wickedness and hatred that have been brewing in them for years. And they feel relieved; for a short time they forget their poignant sorrow for "the good old days" under the Nazis, and the painful realization that they will live whatever is left of their lives far from their native land, gets blunted a little.

But sometimes they take the younger people to their gatherings, those who have been corrupted since childhood by nationalist and misanthropic ideas. These young people could still be admonished and straightened out, but nobody cares to stop them; moreover, their not-so-childish pranks are encouraged, often not with words but with money. In this way, the nationalists rear up their own thugs, who one day make a lot of nationalist noise, and the next are ready to follow newly-made idols and become potential "fifth columns." Canada, the USA and some other countries already witnessed such a metamorphosis of the Ukrainian nationalists when the nationalists collaborated with Nazi Germany, especially at the time of World War II.

Those who inspire the nationalists into protest demonstrations, seem to enjoy the manifestation of aggressiveness and violence on the part of the demonstrators who get extensive coverage on television and in the press.

Once, on a fine day in the fall, a Bandera's faction speaker who knew the art of oratory, was addressing a big rally with an inflammatory speech, designed to arouse enough feeling for the demonstration that was shortly to follow. Pugnacious words lashed out at the crowd in which there were several groups of young boys and girls, wearing Ukrainian national dress. An American boy of about 4 or 5 years of age, attracted by the brightness of the costumes, wanted to come closer, but his young mother, who was unfavorably impressed with the manner in which the speech was being delivered — though she could hardly understand a word of it — grew suspicious of the gathering and led her child away, explaining as they went: "Let's go, they are bandits." Her instinct had not let her down, for if she found herself a half hour later at the Soviet Embassy, she would have seen how right she was. The demonstrators, prompted by the Banderite with his megaphone, began shouting odious abuse at the Embassy officials, which was especially obscene when it was directed against women; the swearing was so disgusting that the young people in Ukrainian dress could consider themselves lucky if they were unable to understand the language of their ancestors which was being put to such vile purposes.

The enemies of the Soviet Union must surely like it when visiting Soviet artists and scholars or Soviet diplomats and their families, are subjected to all kinds of provocation and violence — and all this with impunity. They may like it, but they also must realize that winking at violence of any kind is fraught with great danger, as this violence can easily turn elsewhere. Ignoring this danger, they keep using the organizations of the nationalists, monarchists, anarchists, clerics and any others who display anti-Sovietism as their main feature. These obsequious lackeys, working off the money they receive, try to brainwash people of Ukrainian — and not only Ukrainian — descent, so that they are unable to see the truth about the Soviet Union.

But no amount of evil howling by enemies coming from dark doorways, can check the powerful stride of the Soviet state, the people's state. The Soviet people are working peaceably and diligently for the benefit of their country, but they have not forgotten to take measures to ensure their defense, or to prevent foreing evildoers from marring the joy of their work and recreation.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and all other anti-Soviet elements, still lingering abroad, have no future. To exist, they have to serve the dark forces of reaction, to bellow obscenities and cut capers, do whatever their masters tell them to do, and move ever closer to... extinction. Anyone who goes against his people, or the people of the country that has given him refuge, is doomed.

II. MYSTIFICATIONS OF THE CLERGY

AUTOCEPHALY

The word *autocephaly* means "the state of being autocephalous," the latter in its turn meaning "having its own head," in other words *independent.* The *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* says that the word is applied to some Eastern Orthodox churches in the sense of "self-governing," "electing its own head." Its Greek derivation and its meaning are all clear. But some Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other nationalist groupings, based in the West put their own, specific meaning into this word. The way they use the word should put one on guard: the nationalists are known to be apt to turn things upside down and then claim it's the way it should be.

The Ukrainian nationalists began toying with the idea of autocephaly for the first time in late 1918 — early 1919, and have been twisting and turning the notion this way and that ever since, to suit their narrow interests. The history of the creation and development of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC; it is still active in the West) provides a good example of this.

November of 1918 saw the creation in the Ukraine of yet another counterrevolutionary government — the so-called Directory. Having the failure of its predecessors before its eyes, the new government, in an attempt to stay in power longer, turned to demagogical stunts. The Directory was backed by the allied countries and

the German military, but in view of the collapse of both Austrian and German Empires, and the end of their occupation of the Ukraine, the Directory had to look for something else that would enable it to have at least some control over events. But the whole situation was getting out of hand, as the Directory failed to hide its bourgeois nature, and the Ukrainian workers and peasants *en masse* followed the revolutionary Government of Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine.

The year that followed the October Socialist Revolution showed that the invincible strength of the revolutionaries lay in the fraternal unity of all working people, regardless of their ethnic background. At the same time, the numerous "national" governments that had sprung up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, were pushing people into fratricidal strife, making them defenseless before the allied forces of the bourgeoisie and big land owners. One of the steps that fomented communal violence was the Decree of January 1, 1919, issued by the Directory, dealing with autocephaly of the Eastern Orthodox Churches in the Ukraine. It was designed to arouse enmity between the members of the Orthodox Church; to check the unstoppable process of revolutionary people of different national background uniting in a common struggle; and to use the church for alienating the masses of the Ukrainian people from revolutionary Soviet Russia, thus keeping them under political control of the Directory. The Decree stated that "the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church with its Synod and its

Ecclesiastical Hierarchy was in no way dependent on the All-Russian Patriarch."

Thus, from the first day of its existence, the UAOC did not run its own affairs: the most important question — its "autocephaly" — was decided, as we see, not by the church authorities, let alone the laity, but by the pretenders to dictatorial rule.

The Directory issued this decree when it found itself in a desperate situation from which there was no way out, and it hoped for a miracle. The proclamation of autocephaly was a political act, a measure taken by a secular authority which, moreover, had no legal status. But it was neither the first nor the last self-styled decree by counterrevolutionary governments which tried to go against the lawful government of Soviet Ukraine that was formed in December of 1917 (long before the Directory came into being).

Today's supporters of autocephaly — though not all of them — consider the First of January, 1919, to be the foundation date of the UAOC. But even among themselves they find no complete agreement as to the starting point of "Ukrainian autocephaly"; in any case, an administrative decision — the Directory's Act — cannot be equal to a canonical one.

Whenever they find it suits their purpose, the nationalists and the clerics turn to the authority of Olexandr Lototsky who was the minister for religious affairs in the Directory. But the very same Lototsky, in his book *Autocephaly,* published 50 years ago in Warsaw, was quite unequivocal in regarding the Church as an

instrument in his government's hands. He wrote: "When we turn to canonical law dealing with the Church's status, we can see that... they are regulations not of canonical significance, rather are they administrative acts, reflecting the set-up of the secular state; political acts, and not God's commandments."

The leaders of the Petlura-backed Directory proceeded from perfectly mundane motives, rather than acted on the inspiration of God, when they proclaimed autocephaly. But the nationalist and clerical falsifiers keep insisting that the Directory's Decree is still binding today.

The absurdity of this, and the political motivation behind such claims is obvious. Even Lototsky, in the above mentioned book, said that all acts concerning the setting-up of the Church administration "are subject to change as all other human laws are, and are binding only at a certain time and for a certain nation because they meet certain requirements of the time and place, and reflect national and church conditions... To speak of their unchanging and binding nature for all time and for all Eastern Orthodox nations that have entered the historical arena, is to go against all objective reason."

And yet, Lototsky accepts January 1st, 1919, as the UAOC foundation date, as he was himself one of the architects of autocephaly. But there are other "historical writers" in the West who put forward other dates for the start of autocephaly. In this respect, Mykhailo-Svyatomyr Fostun is an ardent supporter of autocephaly the way he sees it, and he turned out to be a

record-breaker of a kind. During the war he was an SS-guard at the concentration camp in Travniky, and at present he is one of the leaders of the Bandera faction in England. In his little book, the material for which had been largely borrowed from other Western publications on the subject, Fostun presented his readers with no fewer than three new dates for the jubilee celebrations of the UAOC.

The first date: "On May 5, 1920, a plenary session of the all-Ukrainian Church Council was held, and it was at this session that autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was solemnly declared";

the second date: "1971 marked 50 years since the foundation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church";

the third date: it was in February of 1942 that "the council of bishops" was held under the aegis of the Nazis, and this council "gave the Ukrainian Orthodox Church its national hierarchy," and made it possible for "the UAOC clergy... to join... the unified Ukrainian Orthodox Church."

There are also other dates that the autocephaly supporters in the West offer as the starting point for the UAOC. Archdeacon Vasyl Potiyenko, writing in the magazine *Tserkva i Zhyttya* (The Church and Life), No. 5, 1961, alleged that the first liturgy in the Ukrainian language was performed on May 9 (22, New Style), 1919. "This date should be considered as the UAOC foundation date," insists Potiyenko.

In this avalanche of dates of the "proclamation" or "re-establishment" of the UAOC, one

can distinguish two main periods in its activity, from which arose the names of "the UAOC of the first formation," and "the UAOC of the second formation."

The first formation embraces the period when the UAOC was on the service of the Directory, of foreign nationalist centers and their masters. Incidentally, the first-formation UAOC is more often than not referred to as "non-canonical," "self-styled." The UAOC Metropolitan John (Teodorovych) because of this had to be re-consecrated in 1949, though for 25 years he had been ordaining priests in the USA and Canada. The legality of this "re-consecration" caused some doubt too. The Permanent Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops of America, at its session of May 17, 1962, adopted a resolution which said that John (Teodorovych) "acted as a bishop in the USA between the two world wars without having been consecrated, and later tried to obtain consecration in the wrong manner."

The UAOC of the second formation dates to 1942, when the UAOC was "re-established" at the so-called Pinsk Council, on personal instructions from Erich Koch, the Nazi *Gauleiter* of occupied Ukraine. In fact, Fostun's book, which has been mentioned earlier and which was published in 1972, appeared to mark the 30th anniversary of the re-established UAOC, re-established by the Nazis.

Fostun quoted Koch's instructions in which the UAOC was given its proper place as an instrument in the hands of the Nazis. Koch even fixed the places for each priest in the

Church hierarchy. In case in a given locality there are several bishops, the instructions ran, "one of them is appointed a 'senior bishop' by the local Nazi authority. In the region of Volyn-Podillya, the Metropolitan Polikarp is appointed 'senior bishop' of the autocephalous church."

The "senior bishop" justified the trust of the Nazis.

One of his messages described in every detail how and in what way, and in what words, the autocephalous priests should mention in their prayer Hitler's "army of liberators" and the occupation forces.

The Nazis saw to it that every administrative division of the occupied territory of the Ukraine had its bishops; 12 of them had been hurriedly consecrated.

Fostun claims, as many other nationalists do, that the UAOC, re-established in 1942, "has laid the foundation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church throughout the whole world"; then, he goes on to say: "The creation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine... has had, no doubt, a beneficial effect upon the development and strengthening of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada (Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church) and in the USA (Ukrainian Orthodox Church). The UAOC gave these Churches its bishops after the war, and thanks to them, these Churches began developing very rapidly."

The former SS-man Fostun cannot help boasting that it was the second-formation UAOC, brought back to life for the lack of a miracle by order of *Reichskommissar* Koch and the Pinsk

Council of 1942, that laid the groundwork for the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox churches in Canada, USA, and other countries. The second-formation UAOC provided its bishops too; the bishops, most of whom had earned their consecration by their faithful service to the Nazi invaders — the consecration, sealed with a swastika.

Such is the portrait of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church — not "God inspired," and not "having its own head," but an institution in the service of counterrevolution, Nazism, and lately in the service of Western potentates.

The history of the UAOC is a series of political ventures and provocations which certain groupings regarded as a handy means of attaining their ends. But the proclamation of autocephaly did not bring the expected miracle. Miracles are not founded on false premises. The people of the Ukraine, and the people of Ukrainian ancestry living elsewhere, reject the self-styled UAOC which was formed as a means of fighting the Soviet Republic. The activity of supporters of autocephaly meets with a negative reaction on the part of Ukrainian communities abroad, and in view of this, is doomed to failure.

A BLESSING FROM A BAD PRIEST CAN HARDLY DO YOU ANY GOOD

Priests or ministers of many religions like to speak of themselves as being chosen by God,

though in practical deeds they very often refute the divine nature of their station, and give countless examples of being exponents not of divine pious qualities, but rather of the worst Satanic evils. It's no wonder that ordinary people are sharply critical of the behavior of some clergymen. There is a Ukrainian saying which, roughly translated, runs: a blessing from a bad priest can hardly do you any good. This saying has survived to the present day, but it is used now in a broader sense. Life experience shows that if you know a man's deeds, you can draw conclusions as to what kind of person he is.

Up to 1971, the head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was Metropolitan John (Teodorovych), the person who, as mentioned earlier, had to be re-consecrated in 1949 as a non-canonical clergyman. After his death in 1971, the Metropolitan throne was occupied by Mstyslav. What kind of person was Mstyslav before he became a Metropolitan?

The meteoric career of Stepan Skrypnyk (his name before ordination), the son of petty bourgeois parents in Poltava, began under the "great *otaman*" (leader) Symon Petlura. Skrypnyk became Petlura's aide-de-camp, and soon worked his way up. The secret behind his dazzling career was very simple indeed: Skrypnyk's mother was Petlura's sister.

Skrypnyk liked his role of protégé and lackey, and this role determined his future career. After fleeing from the Ukraine to Poland, he did much better than many another supporter of Petlura; he found room and board free of charge at Ga-

lynski's Inn in the town of Zalishchyky (now in the Ternopil Region, the Ukrainian SSR) on the banks of the Dniester River. There, the handsome womanizer conquered the heart of a visiting beauty from Warsaw, and moved with her to the capital, leaving a lawful wife and children behind in the countryside.

Soon enough, Skrypnyk found himself in the town of Rovno, under the patronage of Henryk Juzefski, the Volyn Governor and one-time Polish minister for internal affairs. There is an easy explanation for this new patronage as well: Juzefski was one of the observers from the Polish dictator Pilsudski to Petlura and, what's more important, the husband of Skrypnyk's sister. Thanks to Juzefski and to the Polish secret police (*defensywa* in Polish) which was interested in having their man in high places, Skrypnyk became a member of the Polish *Sejm* (Parliament).

During the Nazi occupation of Poland, Skrypnyk eagerly went over to serve the Gestapo, and showed great zeal as an agent provocateur in the Chelm region. He was well paid for his black deeds, and when Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union, Skrypnyk arrived in the Ukraine directly after the German troops as a representative of the *Sonderkommando* (special unit), authorized to help establish local governing bodies.

On the very first day after the Nazis occupied the town of Dubno in the Rovno Region (June 26, 1941), Skrypnyk called in several dozen people of the local population and the local clergy, and told them that the

German government had authorized him to set up local administrative bodies subordinate to the invaders, sorry, to the "liberators." The heads of the regional- and local-level bodies were appointed then and there. Special representative Skrypnyk told the clergymen to mention in their prayers, and give their blessing to the "new order," Hitler and his troops. Skrypnyk's instructions were followed at the next church service, on Sunday, June 29, and he himself went to the town of Rovno, to continue the work of his special mission. In Rovno he personally took over the post of editor of the newspaper *Volyn*, and that of head of practically all the pro-fascist organizations and societies, whose main task was to collaborate with the Nazis, and to convert the local population into the new faith. The newspaper *Volyn*, edited as we remember by Skrypnyk himself, wrote in its first issue of September 1, 1941: "The Reich's Ministry for occupied territories of the East has authorized Mr. Stepan Skrypnyk, a former member of the *Sejm* from Volyn to form and head the Ukrainian Council of Trust in the Volyn Region."

Judging by the fact that he was entrusted with helping establish the "new order" in the occupied territory and later to head the provocative Council of Trust, Skrypnyk must have shown great ardor while working for the secret service in Cracow and in the Chelm Region before Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union.

The second issue of *Volyn* said: "The Council reiterated that its first and main task is to mobilize all efforts of the Ukrainians in order to

actively help the German army achieve in the nearest future a complete victory over... Moscow." No further commentary is needed here.

This collaborationist rag constantly featured articles, written by Stepan Skrypnyk himself.

In issue No. 22 dated December 7, 1941, he insisted on the necessity of "contributing to the victory of Great Germany" by all means possible, and "arranging our life as a whole in a manner suitable for the realization of this goal. The Church must not remain aside either. And we must do away with the partisans within the Church too." Out of fear, Skrypnyk suspected the infiltration of partisans even into the Church!

With every succeeding issue of *Volyn,* the voice of Skrypnyk grew more and more puffed-up. Describing himself and his henchmen, he wrote in issue No. 53, of March 29, 1942: "We... with our heads proudly raised, turn to New Europe, to the Europe that has appeared in the most brilliant vision of the great European — Adolf Hitler. We believe in such a Europe, such is the Europe we preach."

In issue No. 62, of May 7, 1942, the editor of *Volyn* indulged in sharp condemnations of the United States and Great Britain for their fighting alongside with the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany. Skrypnyk thundered: "The final disintegration of Bolshevism," that had been promised by Hitler, "will at the same time spell their utter defeat too... It will be the decisive and ultimate victory of Germany... No one will be able to stop us from gaining this victory."

But Skrypnyk was engaged not only in glorifying Hitler and Nazism; his duties included secret work for special Abwehr *commandos* whose unit numbers started with No. 201 and went up; these numbers were given to units engaged in sabotage. There were also some clandestine visits to the town of Lutsk to meet another collaborationist scribbler Vitaliy Yurchenko; these meetings invariably turned into drunken orgies. Neither the visits nor their character changed even after Skrypnyk had taken monastic vows — a leap from a Nazi secret agent to a monk! — assuming the name of Mstyslav.

This stunning metamorphosis was just another way of serving the Nazis. Skrypnyk, a former Petlura thug, playboy, and agent provocateur, made his way into the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, re-established at the Pinsk Council in 1942, and blessed with regulating instructions of the *Reichskommissar* of the occupied Ukrainian territories Erich Koch. The Nazis did not stop promoting the career of their experienced agent in his new capacity: in just one month he meteorically rose through the church hierarchy from deacon to bishop.

Skrypnyk-Mstyslav became one of the first bishops of the UAOC, hastily consecrated in 1942. The Abwehr and SD services, Gestapo and other Nazi organizations had in the person of Mstyslav a reliable ally and agent provocateur. He betrayed partisans to the Nazis, and their blood is on his hands. The nephew and aide of Symon Petlura, he was so inspired by the

genocidal ideas and policies of Hitler, that he insisted on the necessity of fighting against Jewry "until its complete extermination."

To mark his tenth anniversary as Metropolitan of the UAOC, Mstyslav circulated his pastoral message, devoting it to the "dawn of revival" and "proclamation of independence" of the UAOC. This former Gestapo agent could not help mentioning "that during the Second World War... the UAOC was revived." He comforted himself and his congregation with illusory hopes that "the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church will rise again and again from the ashes and ruins." The UAOC was brought into existence by the counterrevolutionary Directory, and was revived on the instructions of Erich Koch, executioner Number One in the Nazi occupied Ukrainian lands, but in his message of 1981 Mstyslav chose not to mention whose bayonets could raise the UAOC "from the ashes and ruins" in future.

The Easter message of 1982, issued by the Council of UAOC bishops, and signed by Mstyslav and other bishops, mentioned the 40th anniversary of the "revival" of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which arose "in this short period of time 'from death into life and from earth to the heavens,' as we were guided by Christ..." Thus Erich Koch, by implication, was raised by Mstyslav to the lofty station of a saint, responsible for the UAOC resurrection.

After the capitulation of Nazi Germany Skrypnyk-Mstyslav did not risk going to the United States right away, due to the still fresh memory

of his articles in the pro-fascist *Volyn,* in which he had boasted that "no one will be able to stop us from gaining this victory." Mstyslav landed up in Canada instead. From the first, his activities were in conflict with Ukrainian Canadians, and he even had to take to his heels. However, the United States gave shelter to Mstyslav; he became an archbishop, and then the top hierarch of the UAOC.

Mstyslav went to all lengths to disown his criminal past; he acted against his conscience when he verbally attacked the Nazis, calling them "butchers," or admitted that "Hitler had tried to exterminate all Jews in the dependent and occupied territories." But no matter what new mask Stepan Skrypnyk might don, this man, once made a bishop by the Nazis and then made Metropolitan by the American backers of war criminals, will never be able to hide the stamp on his character of an informer of the Polish *defensywa* secret police, Gestapo agent and Nazi *Sonderführer.* During the Second World War he was a handy instrument of the Nazis, and on his conscience there are dozens of people for whose death he was responsible from Warsaw to the Chelm Region in Poland and from Kiev to Poltava in the Ukraine.

This criminal stamp may be discerned even in Mstyslav's pastoral messages, and in his public speeches, and in his activity as an organizer of clamorous campaigns against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Even after he had passed four score years of his life, Skrypnyk never missed a chance to take part

in "a protest move" directed against the Soviet Union, or to head one or another slanderous campaign. The Metropolitan was still pleased to see his name in print, or his image on television. More recently though, he has preferred to "protest" from the comfort of his Metropolitan home (five years ago he still had enough vigor to travel widely and make his provocative speeches).

At the end of 1981, Australian television aired a program on "the protest demonstration" which was staged by young ruffians in front of the Embassy of the Polish People's Republic in Canberra. Mstyslav was also among the protesters: he had just happened to be passing the Embassy in a car and, when he heard the abusive language shouted in Polish and saw a mob ready to bash heads in, he could not help joining the hooligans. It so pleasantly reminded him of his youth, and by joining in he seemed to drop many years off his venerable age. This pugnacious old man caught the eye of the reporters, and the local press featured a number of slanderous articles in which the UAOC Metropolitan — a very reverend guest from overseas — was freely quoted as an authority.

The anti-Soviet activity of Mstyslav, alias Skrypnyk, did not remain unnoticed by the White House either. In 1983, on the occasion of Skrypnyk's 85th birthday, the American President Ronald Reagan sent him his personal greetings in which he expressed best wishes from Nancy and himself and mentioned the great efforts that Mstyslav did not spare for the spiritual good of others. Moreover, Presi-

dent Reagan, evidently overstepping the limits of personal greetings, said in his letter that the spiritual strength of the American nation had been forged by people like Mstyslav.

There are plenty of hard facts to prove that Mstyslav's henchmen, on orders from the Nazi spy service, once tried "to forge" a fifth column in the USA, and in case of victory on the Eastern front, they were to prepare the ground for a Nazi attack on the United States, which was then one of the members of the anti-Hitler coalition. They were ready to forge the chains for the America of President Roosevelt. Only the defeat on the Eastern front, followed by the collapse of Nazi Germany under the blows of the USSR and its allies, saved the American people from a massive invasion of "forgers of the nation," similar to the Nazi *Sonderführer* Skrypnyk.

The statement that such people as the Nazi criminal Skrypnyk-Mstyslav forged the spiritual strength of the American nation is an offense to the American people, and to mankind in general.

The clergy and nationalists in the USA and some other Western countries marked not only the 85th birthday of Mstyslav, but also the 41st anniversary of his consecration as bishop of the Autocephalous Church, revived by the Nazis. Well, a blessing from a bad priest can hardly do you any good, and nothing good can be seen in the infamous history of the pro-fascist UAOC "of the second formation," and no amount of greetings and eulogies will hide the fascist nature of the "most reverend" Mstyslav.

THE "LIVES" OF THE LAST UNIATE METROPOLITANS

The clergy and nationalists, who want to put some gloss on their own disgraceful history, are in constant search of new falsehoods and new absurdities to be labeled "facts" and presented to their befuddled followers. Their practical deeds can hardly adorn the clergy and the nationalists; that is why they have to juggle with facts, or use open falsifications in an attempt to whitewash themselves and demonstrate their saintliness.

Very often their desire to hide their criminal past takes on strange forms: "What? We are accused of ideological and spiritual closeness to the Nazis?" they would say, pretending to be offended. "That is very unjust. The Nazis were atheists, and we are deeply religious people. German SS divisions did not have chaplains, but the SS *Halychyna* Division just could not function without one." But crimes remain crimes, even when they are committed with shouts of "God is with us!" Exactly like today, weapons of mass destruction remain lethal even when they are hypocritically called "humane" or "peace keepers"; and genocide and armed intervention remain what they are even when they are called "missions of peace," undertaken by "God's will."

The only thing that corresponds to the facts in the nationalist propaganda is the close cooperation of Ukrainian nationalists with the Church, and particularly with the Greek Catholic Church which is known as the Uniate

Church. In 1948, one of the OUN members, Pankiv, a.k.a. *Yaremko* carried out a criminal terroristic act against the proto-presbyter of the Orthodox Eparchy (bishopric), Doctor Havriil Kostelnyk, who had come out with criticism of the papacy and the expansionist Uniate Church. A year later, a graduate of the Uniate seminary, Ilariy Lukashevych, together with the OUN murderer Stakhur, a.k.a. *Stefko* acting on orders from the Vatican and the Munich nationalist center, assassinated the writer and public figure Yaroslav Halan, an outspoken critic of fascism, Ukrainian nationalism and Roman Catholicism.

The list of crimes committed by the Uniate members and nationalists against the Ukrainian people is long, very long indeed; "credit" for many items on this list should by rights go to Metropolitan Andrey who headed the Galicia Metropoly of the Greek Catholic Church from 1900 to 1944.

There were attempts made to whitewash Andrey after his death, to represent him ("the fellow who made the holy water muddy" in the words of Yaroslav Halan) as an immaculately pious person, worthy of being canonized.

A descendant of Polish nobles, Count Roman Maria Alexander, alias Andrey Sheptitsky led the life of a playboy, spending most of his time in wordly salons, and acquiring the reputation of an irresistible womanizer. Incidentally, many of his contemporaries saw a certain likeness between him and the protagonist from *Don Juan,* a 1924 novel by the Ukrainian writer Volodimir Samiylenko: "When he was 40, our

Juan weighted 260 pounds neat." This description fits well the physical measurements of Sheptitsky, and the way Don Juan in the novel manages, by deception, to get past St Peter into the place of eternal bliss, resembles the way the present-day glorifiers of Sheptitsky try to have him canonized.

Ivan Rybotytsky who had learned from his own sad experience what the Greek Catholic Uniate Church and its priests were really like, wrote in his letter from abroad in January of 1962:

"Sheptitsky — that Prince of the Church — served in the same uhlan regiment together with the Hapsburg king, who was the last prince of Austria. They were quartered in Kolomiya, with the 10th uhlan regiment. Both of them enjoyed riding mares, as they thought stallions or geldings did not look as romantic in motion.

"The King had Andrzej elevated to the post of Metropolitan as he knew that Andrzej could do any dirty work solidly and well.

"General Brusilov, in his *Memoirs* writes that he (Sheptitsky) was a spy and middleman between Vienna and St. Petersburg before the First World War (vol. 1)."

Yes, it is true. General Brusilov had reasons to call Sheptitsky "an old German agent." The Metropolitan-cavalryman was indeed in the service of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz-Josef I; later he served the Polish pro-fascist dictator Jozef Piłsudski; still later — the German war climinal Number One — Adolf Hitler, as well as their subordinates — oppressors of Poland and the Ukraine. The Metro-

politan was eager to brandish a saber, and to please the emperors, kaisers and führers, he proposed to form spy units of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen within the Austro-Hungarian army, or a special unit within the SS troops. He blessed the mercenaries of the aggressors when they started on their "crusades" against the people they betrayed.

Sheptitsky and his priests not only blessed the nationalist criminals, encouraging them to collaborate with the Nazis, but acted as collaborators themselves by helping the Nazis suppress the Resistance movement; they urged the population — to use the words of "the pastoral message" written by Sheptitsky shortly after the Nazis occupied Lviv — "to show all obedience to the power," in other words to obey the "supermen" with swastikas on their sleeves. The same message, dated July 5, 1941, also proposed "to hold a thanksgiving service on the Sunday following the receipt of this message, so as to maintain the favorable attitudes of the authorities toward us in the future; and also to sing the hymn "Glory to God" and "to ask in prayer for the victory of the German army."

The man, closest to Sheptitsky, was his official successor Joseph Slipij. His career, like that of Sheptitsky, was closely connected with Austria. He received his degree of Doctor of Theology from the Innsbruck Catholic University, and in 1917 he was ordained a priest. When he found himself in the Vatican, Slipij showed himself to be a staunch enemy of the Soviet State, and preached drastic measures against it, including "a crusade." In 1922, he

was dispatched to Lviv on a mission of gathering intelligence material, and of preparing the laity for accepting instructions from the *Holy See* and some Western counterrevolutionary sources.

The Vatican was satisfied with Slipij, and in October of 1939, shortly before the official reunification of Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR, appointed him assistant and successor to the Metropolitan of the Uniate Church Sheptitsky. It is worthy of note that Slipij was suggested for these posts by a very high-ranking Vatican official — the head of the Congregation of Eastern Churches Tisserand, who, no doubt, must have been impressed with Slipij's record and his ability to gather efficiently intelligence under the new conditions. Intelligence gathering was something that the Head of the Congregation knew rather much about as he was a former French intelligence officer — with the rank of colonel — and had even had some personal experience in working as a spy in the Soviet Union disguised as a priest. Nor could Tisserand have considered it a liability that Slipij was connected with the Nazi secret services, a bond established during his stay in Berlin back in 1935. Some Vatican officials, like Tisserand, would have been ready to make a deal with *the Devil* himself (Pope Pius XI expressed such a wish publicly), so long as it helped organize more active subversion against the USSR.

A considerable part of the Uniate clergy resented — and with good reason too — their new potential hierarch. Sheptitsky was told that

a reprobate with one too many secret backgrounds had been sent him. But the Metropolitan was reluctant to raise the matter with the Vatican over its appointee, and consecrated Slipij as bishop under the new name of Joseph. Both the Metropolitan and his assistant felt that there was much in common that united them: hatred of the Soviet Union, and serving one and the same master with a swastika on his sleeve. They were very close indeed: in December of 1939 Sheptitsky went ahead and appointed his successor to be the "Exarch of Great Ukraine." There was no such thing as "Exarchate of Great Ukraine"; Slipij's authority was to spread far beyond the geographical boundaries of the Ukraine into Bessarabia, Kuban, Don and Caucasia, and to get in reality what he was appointed on "paper," Slipij was also ready to make a deal not only with the Nazis but with *the Devil* himself, following the example of some of the Vatican spiritual fathers.

No wonder it was with great joy that he learnt of the invasion of Nazi Germany into the Soviet Union. He made it a point to keep himself available for those Nazis who wielded some authority, and on the first day of the Nazi occupation of Lviv, he was among the handful of Ukrainian nationalists who staged the show, the script for which had been written in Berlin, of proclaiming the "independent" — but subordinate to the Nazi occupation authorities — "Regional Government of the Western Parts of Ukraine." A report, published at the time of the disgraceful event, described the details: "all those present greeted very warmly and

with heartfelt sincerity the high-ranking officers of the German army who arrived to attend the meeting"; "greetings to the glorious invincible German army" and to "the Führer Adolf Hitler" were sent; the meeting also vowed "to work in close cooperation with National-Socialist Germany." Slipij was also among the speakers and, to continue to quote from the same report, "greeted the meeting on behalf of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptitsky, saying that the Metropolitan supported with his whole heart this great historical initiative... and called upon all believers and the whole people to get down to work immediately."

The calls of the heads of the Uniate Church "to show all obedience to the power" and "get down to work" matched very well what *Hauptmann* Hans Koch had to say; he, according to the quoted report, "also greeted those present and called on them to get down to work and cooperate very closely with the German... Army."

The Uniate representatives Sheptitsky and Slipij, the German intelligence officers Koch and Oberländer were directly responsible for whatever the self-styled pro-fascist-nationalist government had time to do during the few days of its ephemeral existence. It concerns, among other things, the massacre of thousands of people in Lviv, perpetrated by the *Nachtigall* battalion which was commanded by *Hauptmann* Shukhevych, a member of the just formed "government."

On July 13, 1941, acting on behalf of Sheptitsky who was ill, and under his instructions.

Joseph Slipij, assisted by bishops Budka and Chernetsky, held a very elaborate "thanksgiving service" in honor of the Nazi invaders, and on August 1 of the same year welcomed with transports of joy the separation of Galicia from the Ukraine, and its attachment as "German territory that had belonged to Germany from times immemorial" to the *Generalgouvernement,* formed by the Nazis.

Soon, Slipij had the opportunity of personally thanking Governor-General Hans Frank — one of the principle German war criminals — for joining Galicia to "Great Germany." The photographs, in which Slipij could be seen greeting the butcher of Polish and other Slavic peoples, appeared in almost all tabloids, published in the occupied territories of the Ukraine for the local population in two languages — in the "native" German and in the "aboriginal" Ukrainian. Slipij, this man with a long record of serving the Nazis, was nevertheles in a hurry to show publicly his devotion to the invaders from the Third Reich, and his readiness to serve them.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and their spiritual fathers from the Uniate Church often claim that they were almost in a state of war with the Nazis, and their collaboration with the Nazis was no more than a tactical move, necessary under the conditions of the suppressive occupation regime. But the truth of the matter is that the nationalists at all levels of their hierarchy were vying with each other in professing their allegiance to Adolf Hitler, and to the cause of "reshaping" the world in the fascist manner.

If in 1941 the nationalists' messages, letters of thanks and addresses, were designed mostly as propagandistic orchestration to the invasion of the Nazi troops, later the Nazis began to use the nationalists directly in the job of introducing "the new order," in other words, in punitive operations against the resistance movement, and genocide against Ukrainians, Russians, Jews and other ethnic groups of people who had been living in the Ukraine for many centuries. The clergy, including those from the Uniate Church, not only blessed the nationalists, encouraging them to collaborate with the Nazis, but themselves helped the invaders put down resistance, preaching obedience to the swastika.

One of the greatest criminal acts of the Nazi colonizers was the deportation of masses of the able-bodied population from the occupied territories for forced labor in Germany. In this tragic situation, the Greek Catholic Church, the Metropolitan Andrey (Sheptitsky) and his assistant-successor Bishop Slipij, sent instructions to the people who were to be taken to Germany, telling them to obey their masters without reserve, and to work day and night, without rest or holidays. Absolving them from the sin of working on religious holidays beforehand, Metropolitan Andrey warned the slaves-to-be — for example, in his message of April 21, 1943 — that any disobedience or even unauthorized rest, would be considered a great sin, and not only the guilty themselves would be severely punished, but their relatives as well.

The Metropolitan's intimidations echoed the

line of the official Nazi press. The Berlin newspaper *Nachrichten,* in its issue of April 15, 1943, demanded, almost in identical terms, "honesty, good behavior and a conscientious attitude to duty" from the new slaves.

But an especially treacherous role was played by the Uniate priests in the formation of the SS *Halychyna* Division and in recruiting young people for it from Galicia, Volyn and other lands occupied by the Nazis. The German authorities announced the order to form the division a week after the message from Metropolitan Andrey — the one from which we have quoted — had been made public. It is not just a coincidence: both the deportation of young Ukrainians to Germany, and the delivery of cannon fodder to the German army, and the extermination of masses of people on racial, national or religious grounds — all these atrocities are links in the chain of crimes committed by the Ukrainian nationalists and Uniate clergy against the Ukrainian people and mankind.

One of the most zealous recruiters for the SS *Halychyna* Division was Kubiyovych, head of the so-called Ukrainian Central Committee which was created at the Nazi *Generalgouvernement* in Cracow; it is to the point to quote him from *Visti Kombatanta* (Combatant's News) magazine, issues No. 5-6, 1968: "My decision to help the German officials in charge of the matter to form the division was influenced to a great extent by Andriy Sheptitsky."

Sheptitsky showed himself to be an ardent supporter of fascism in word and in deed; he

threw all his weight as the top hierarch of the Uniate Church behind the support of Nazi Germany. In a letter to Hitler dated January 14, 1942, signed by Count Andrey Sheptitsky and several other nationalist leaders, assurances were expressed that the signatories "are striving to establish the closest possible cooperation with Germany, so as to, by joint effort,... end the struggle against the common enemy, and realize 'the new order' in the Ukraine and throughout all Eastern Europe." It was not the first time that Sheptitsky had composed a message with expressions of loyalty. Here is what he wrote to the Emperor of Austria-Hungary: "God willing, we shall forever be with the Austrian State of the Hapsburgs, and swear the oath of allegiance, for which we shall sacrifice our blood if need be."

The hopes of the Nazis who were in charge of forming the SS *Halychyna* Division foı a special role of the Church in this matter, were, to a great extent, prompted by the fact that Sheptitsky, when he was an officer of the Austrian-Hungarian army, had been entered into the spy files of the Austrian intelligence. Later, he worked for the Nazis too; he met Kanaris, the head of the Abwehr, and a host of Nazi spies and men from punitive units of lower ranks. The Nazis appreciated the readiness with which Sheptitsky followed their instructions, so there must have been a good reason for them to add six-digit sums in Polish currency monthly to his bank account.

Joseph Slipij did not lag behind his superior in his subservience to the Nazis.

The Governor of the Galicia District SS *Brigadeführer* Otto Wächter, knowing Sheptitsky and Slipij as being assiduous in doing what they were instructed to do, directly involved them in recruiting men for the new SS division. The decision to form this division was officially announced by Wächter at a special meeting in Lviv; a German military brass band was brought in to add a festive note to the meeting; the official report later said that among those present were "representatives of the Government, of the Party, of the Armed Forces, of Police Forces; officers; sergeant-majors of the former Austrian army and Ukrainian Galician Army; Minister for Home Affairs of the *Generalgouvernement,* Losaker; General of Police Katzmann." The police-SS show ended with a visit of Wächter and his entourage to the St. Yura (St. George's) Cathedral.

The big service for this occasion was conducted by Joseph Slipij; Canon Vasyl Laba, as was reported in the press, "gave a sermon, appropriate for the moment." The preacher invited people to rejoice, "for thanks to the consent of the Führer of Great Germany we have the opportunity to form a rifle-division... This is God's will today," proclaimed sacrilegiously the Doctor of Theology. "And you can't go against God's will."

As far as Laba is concerned, that priest of servility and treachery, with a long record of being a Gestapo agent (it was Yaroslav Halan who gave this description of the man), became the head chaplain of the SS *Halychyna* Divi-

sion. For two years he mocked *Holy Writ,* adjusting its commandments to accord with the requirements of SS *Reichsführer* and lower-rank führers, and insulting the religious feelings of "the rabble" recruited to the division. All this, by the way, did not stop the Catholic authorities from appointing Laba Vicar-General in Canada after the war.

The Uniate Church, in addition to Laba, delegated more than 20 of its priests to the SS *Halychyna* Division. Thus, by implication, the Uniate Church, together with the other war criminals from this division, signed an oath to Adolf Hitler, pledging to "fight against the enemy of the whole world, against Jewry, and against Bolshevism," to quote from the oath.

How hypocritical the Uniate hierarchs showed themselves when in 1944 they were against their priests and theological students joining the Soviet Army which was, at that time, already pushing the Nazis out of Soviet territory. When Metropolitan Andrey and his successor Joseph Slipij demagogically proclaimed the Uniate Church "traditionally non-militant," and kept repeating: "We are not warriors, we abide by the sacred law!" Their pacifism at that moment displayed their hostility toward the people of the Ukraine and of other Soviet Republics; on the other hand, it displayed their loyalty to the oath they had sworn to Hitler to "fight Bolshevism" with every means possible.

No wonder, the Uniate Church aroused hatred among the population of the Ukraine, and of the Galicia, Volyn and Transcarpathian regions in particular. The logical conclusion of its 350-

year long sinister existence came in 1946: the Church Council which was held in Lviv announced an end to the Union and the return of the believers to the Orthodox Church.

The action committee which prepared the convocation of this Council, was headed by a former member of the Metropolitan Chapter, Doctor of Theology Havriil F. Kostelnyk. He was well aware of the crimes of the Uniate Church; he had taken part in the big service in St. Yura (St. George's) Cathedral (mentioned earlier), which had been conducted by Joseph Slipij. Speaking about the recruiting of Ukrainian young men to the SS *Halychyna* Division, undertaken by the nationalists and reactionary clergy, Kostelnyk said later: "We committed the most heinous crime against the Ukrainian people during the whole of the Nazi invasion when we demanded that our people give up their dearest possession, youth, to bloodthirsty Nazism and send them to fight... their blood brothers."

The victory of the Soviet Army over fascism saved mankind from further terrors. The principal German war criminals were sentenced by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal to a just punishment. Hans Frank, with whom Joseph Slipij had tried so hard to ingratiate himself, was hanged in 1946. Slipij himself, for his contribution to propaganda, preparation and implementation of genocide as it was practiced by the Nazis in accordance with their misanthropic ideology, was sentenced to a term in prison as a Nazi collaborationist.

After his release from prison, Slipij did not risk returning to Lviv where he had committed

most of his crimes. Serhiy T. Danylenko in his well-researched book *On the Road of Infamy and Treachery* (Naukova Dumka Publishers, Kiev, 1970) quotes the following statement by former Uniate priests from Lviv: "We ask the authorities not to allow collaborationist Slipij, who put the Greek Catholic Church into the service of the Nazi invaders, to return to Lviv because he will again start to stir his congregation up against the Soviet people's power." These priests knew perfectly well that his perfidious nature and his Vatican superiors would push him again into political agitation and activity, hostile to the Soviet Union.

In view of all this, the Vatican decided to recall its servant, and the Roman Pope addressed the Soviet government with a request to allow Slipij to leave for Rome. The request was granted, and the foreign protectors of Slipij were denied the chance to make up stories about the "martyrdom of a prisoner of conscience."

When he arrived, Slipij went out of his way trying to convince Pope John XXIII, his successor Paul VI and other Vatican hierarchs that at his trial he had behaved like a hero, and had prepared himself for "martyrdom." And this is another black lie on Slipij's conscience: from the materials of the trial, parts of which were published in the Soviet press, one can see that he not only pleaded guilty of the crimes with which he was charged, but related in every detail how, "following instructions from the Vatican, called 'encyclicals,' the Greek Catholic Church carried out subversion

directed against the revolutionary forces"; he also told how he and his subordinates "using the entire system of the Uniate Church carried out subversive work against the influence of communism, against the Soviet regime." Slipij also said that "the Vatican and the Greek Catholic Church always sided with the fascist states." [Quotations are taken from the article by Serhiy T. Danylenko *Vynni Pered Narodom* (Guilty Before the People), published in the magazine *Nauka i Suspilstvo* (Science and Society), No. 9, 1973.]

Slipij sinned against the truth and his own conscience when he later invented the "terrible conditions" in which he was allegedly kept in the Soviet Union. He did not reveal, of course, the fact that for some time before he left the Soviet Union, he had been fasting and "mortifying the flesh" so as to look a martyr in the eyes of his foreign "benefactors."

By the way, the "protectors" of Slipij's "rights" were evidently sorry to see him alive and in good health; he would have been of better use as a "martyr." This disappointment seems to have persisted until Slipij's death of natural causes. In 1982, some time before Slipij passed away, the Munich-based nationalist magazine *Suchasnist* (The Present) published a long article by Ivan Hrynioch, one of the leaders of the OUN-FB, and a former chaplain of the *Nachtigall* Battalion. Hryniokh sang the praises of his fellow-collaborationist Joseph Slipij, but could not at one point hide his disappointment, and complained that there were "difficulties connected with the

fact that we are celebrating his ninetieth birthday while he is still alive, and not dead."

After he had gotten used to things around him in the West, and upon discovering what might prompt him in making another career, Slipij at last showed his true nature. At a session of the second Universal Council of the Catholic Church which was held in 1963, he made a sharply anti-Soviet statement. But it caught the Vatican by surprise, as the speaker addressed the participants of the Council with a request to proclaim him head of the nonexistent Uniate Patriarchy of the Ukraine.

Slipij had made a *faux pas*. His hopes of securing the support of the new Pope, Paul VI who was more of a reactionary in political matters than his predecessor John XXIII, did not materialize. Paul VI did not back the provocative position taken by Slipij and even condemned his unauthorized moves as lacking canonical discipline. True, giving credit to the anti-Soviet nature of Slipij's "initiative," the Pope, after the Council was over, raised him to the rank of cardinal, the highest office in the Roman Catholic Church short of Pope.

Paul Henri Holbach (1723-1789), a French materialistic philosopher, once wrote with sarcasm, so typical of him, that "cardinals wear red or scarlet garments in order to remind themselves all the time that they must spill blood for the good of the Church, and spread fire for the glory of religion." Cardinal Joseph (Slipij) always remembered what had brought him his cardinalate, what his real bosses want-

ed of him, and what his loud supporters from the nationalist camp expected of him.

The openly adventurist statements and deeds of the cardinal, with his solid Nazi training, more than once got the Roman Curia into awkward situations, and on the tenth anniversary of Slipij's elevation to cardinalate, Paul VI sent the celebrant a special letter, severely admonishing him for his intemperate pressure in the matter of creating a "Kiev-Galicia Patriarchy," without the Vatican giving a go-ahead signal. Cardinal Joseph seemed, at first, to pay heed to the warning from the Pope, but this was only a superficial impression. Addressing the faithful, he continued to call himself their "dear Patriarch," "head of the Ukrainian Church," "father of our Church." It was in such phraseology that his message "A Word" was couched in February of 1982.

Trying to dissociate itself from the foul methods practiced by Slipij's followers, and to keep within established diplomatic practices on the one hand, the Vatican, on the other, could not resist the temptation to use for its purposes the primitive anti-communism of the supporters of the "give-us-the-Patriarchy" campaign. As a result, while condemning the adventurism of all the loose talk about "Patriarchy" in words, the Vatican, in practical deeds, went ahead and sanctioned the creation, at first in Canada, and then in some other Western countries, of Exarchates of the "Ukrainian Catholic Church" as the discredited Uniate Church was now called.

After 40 years of administering the affairs of the Uniate Church, Slipij paid his debt to

nature in 1984, and his death caused another upsurge of propagandistic activity connected with his name. The nationalists, clergy, and pro-fascist elements like Hryniokh, were now sure that Slipij could never spring any of his stunts again, and nothing now prevented them from presenting this odious "saintly" man in the light of their choice; at last he could be glorified as "a martyr for the sake of Christ."

But in the past, Slipij had caused much trouble for his patrons who were eager for sensations. After arriving in the West, instead of making frequent slanderous statements — all very nicely prepared for him and waiting to be used — Slipij had behaved very cautiously, at first; cautiously from the point of view of the producers of anti-Soviet slander, of course.

Many Western radio stations and periodicals mentioned and commented on Slipij's landing in the West; some of the statements of the new arrival received "massaged" coverage. But all these efforts brought little result, as Slipij was in a state of shock after coming under the intensive pressure of his "patrons," who were urging him to repeat the absurdities they had concocted. Do not get us wrong here: Slipij did not mind the essence of what he was supposed to say, but he minded the fact that "his" statements had been prepared without consideration for his personal style and plans. Later, Slipij gave in, and even started to look for occasions himself to make a slanderous statement or compose a "pastoral message," aimed at brainwashing the faithful who had already been affected by clerical and nationalist propaganda.

The names of Sheptitsky and Slipij are widely used now in ideological subversive and anti-Soviet propaganda. But they are such odious and controversial figures, they are so greatly muddied by their mercenary activities in the service of forces most hostile to the Soviet people, that no matter how hard Western propaganda tries, it will never be able to make "saintly" or "godly" men, "pillars of the faith," or simply decent people, out of these Nazi collaborators. The Uniate Church, and its last Metropolitans Andrey and Joseph have discredited themselves for ever as puppets of foreign masters and as enemies of the Ukrainian and other Slavic peoples.

III. FRIENDSHIP FOR HIRE

"CONCORD" OF BITTER ENEMIES

Such moral qualities as friendship, sincerity, loyalty are cherished by the people among the most important ones a person could have. There are various sayings extolling the virtues of friendship, and condemning perfidy. These sayings come to mind when one looks at the relations that exist between emigrant groupings, especially between the Ukrainian nationalists and the Zionists.

At a certain stage after the end of the Second World War, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and Zionists, with much prompting from high-ranking officials "in charge" of their affairs, began to find more and more points of contact

and concerted action, uniting their efforts in the sphere of anti-Soviet subversive activity.

To prove that they were the best of friends, and had always been on the most cordial and friendly terms with each other, the nationalists and Zionists took to rewriting history. True, there are many things that they share, you could even say they are soul-mates, and there is much evidence in support of such a statement that the 20th century has supplied.

Their idyllic cooperation in the counterrevolutionary government of the so-called Ukrainian National Republic, their involvement in the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and in the *Jüdischordnung* police units whose functions were so similar during the Second World War, found a continuation in the postwar nationalist-Zionist friendship.

All through their history, the nationalists and Zionists had much in common in their social-class preferences and origins; their hatred of the revolutionary workers and peasants, regardless of their ethnic background; their work for the reactionary circles and secret services of Austria-Hungary, Nazi Germany, the USA, Great Britain, Israel and other pretenders to the dominant position that would allow them to run the affairs of other nations.

The blood of many victims is on their hands, and among these victims were members of their own organizations. Many members of the Melnykite and Banderite factions, constantly at war with each other, were assassinated by their adversaries from a rival faction; the Zionists who were given certain administrative rights

by the Ministry of Jewish affairs of the Directory, and by the Jewish Council under the Nazis, found an opportunity to settle personal and party scores, and at the same time, continued their terror against Ukrainians, Jews, and other innocent ethnic groups.

In this sense, there is no reason to categorically deny the idea of the fundamental closeness of the nationalists and the Zionists. But they themselves prefer to speak not of the relations between the nationalists and the Zionists, but juggle with facts, terms, and such notions as "people," "Ukrainians," "Jews."

At the time of their greatest trials, ordinary Ukrainians saved Jews from death, and ordinary Jews helped Ukrainians. Ukrainians, Jews, honest people of all other ethnic descents act as their conscience demands; they act in unison, in unity, live like one family, not paying attention to the color of their skin, nationality or religious affiliation. But the nationalists and the Zionists act different. They are irreconcilable enemies of Ukrainians and Jews, and they do not have any right to speak on their behalf.

One of the most zealous falsifiers of history, collectively known as Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, produced many pseudo-historical "facts," trying to prove the existence of what has never existed, or deny the undeniable. The period of Petlura's Directory (1918-1920) is described by the UCCA as "the period when Jewish freedoms flourished." They somehow contrive to forget that at least two-thirds of the pogroms, organized by the nationalists, anarchists, White Guards and other counterrevolu-

tionaries, took place within that period of time.

During the Second World War, special units of German-Ukrainian Special Police and those of the *Judenrat* — Jewish Council, in a joint effort exterminated people from the Jewish ghettos, thus putting into practice the genocidal policies against Jews, Ukrainians and other groups whom Hitler doomed to extinction as "subhuman."

During the most terrible period of the Nazi occupation, the nationalists and the Zionists acted as Nazi mercenaries, faithful to the interests of the Third Reich.

Receiving orders from Hitler and Himmler, the special police units with nationalist tridents on their uniforms together with those with the "star of David" from the "Guards of Zion" established a *Jüdische Ordnung* — Jewish order — in the Yaniv concentration camp in the city of Lviv, after which operation the silence of the grave reigned over the place. New orders — and thousands upon thousands of Ukrainians, Russians, Jews and Poles were exterminated in Majdanek, Sobibor, Treblinka and many other death camps by the SS-men and special police with the aid of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police.

In the book *Ukrainians and Jews,* published in 1966 by the UCCA, one can find, among other things, the account of Ivan Luty-Lutenko about the way he helped save Jews from death at the time of his being manager of the Chelm Union of Cooperative Organizations. Either mocking the very notion of human help, or simply failing to distort facts so as to make them unrecogniz-

able, Luty-Lutenko relates that in 1941 local Jews approached him with a request to give them some flour and salt; he directed them to the local Gestapo; "I told the leader of the community, the local lawyer and his son-in-law: 'Request it from the Gestapo'..."

When the massive extermination of Jews began, Luty-Lutenko continues his story, "I told my Jewish housemaid" to go to a neighboring village. "On her way there, she... disappeared. I personally think that she was seized by SS-men and killed." Luty-Lutenko does not reveal where he told the Jewish girl to go or why, nor whether it was to the SS headquarters or Gestapo with which he had direct links. Another time he saw a Jewish woman doctor by the name of Rabinovich home, and then told her to come to his house in the evening. "She never turned up, and I don't know what happened to her." Maybe, he really does not know, as the Gestapo were not obliged to inform a Luty-Lutenko what they had done with a Rabinovich.

Luty-Lutenko, telling his ambiguous story, does not fail to mention that he had also been a captain in the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and later commanded the Petlura unit *Kholodniy Yar* (Cool Valley). His "aid" to the Jews is even more vividly illustrated in a book by Saul S. Friedman, published in 1976 in New York, about Symon Petlura; the author says that the "independent fathers" (heads of nationalistic bands) and their bands, and also the bands of Shepel, Blakytniy and Lyutiy, and others who supported Petlura in 1918-1919, carried out more than 300 pogroms of Jews.

The "friendly" attitude of Luty-Lutenko to Jews turns out to be one of long-standing and unequivocally of a pogrom character.

What did Luty-Lutenko really have in mind when he decided to make his reminiscences public? Was it with the purpose of whitewashing himself and dissociating himself from pogroms and the Gestapo, or was it his intention to display, in his declining years, his anti-Semitic acts; to repeat, in a somewhat more roundabout way, the words of Kovenko, the head of the secret police of Petlura's Directory: "Yes, we have killed, we are killing and we shall kill."

Incidentally, these words were uttered by the Head Policeman Kovenko, who was also head of a group of "Ukrainian" military leaders, at a special meeting with representatives of the Jewish community, among whom the Minister for Jewish Affairs of the Directory Pinchas Krasny and other "officials" were also present.

The authors of the book *Ukrainians and Jews* claim that the way to a dialogue with the Zionists was opened by a series of articles by Ivan Kedryn-Rudnitsky, which were published in the nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* (Liberty), USA, in 1951; his suggestion to organize a meeting and conduct negotiations with the Zionists "without any all-pervading hatred" was supported later by the Munich-based *Suchasna Ukraina* (Ukraine of Today) and some other nationalist publications.

But as we see from the example of the conference of Kovenko-Krasny, 1951 was far from being the starting point of negotiations and meetings between the Ukrainian and Jewish na-

tionalists. Therefore, when in the 1950s "the boss told" the nationalists and Zionists to combine their efforts against the Soviet Union, they obediently began doing what they were told.

More than thirty years have passed since the new rapprochement (advised by their patrons) between the Ukrainian nationalists and the Zionists began; many Ukrainian-Jewish conferences were held, innumerable speeches were made, mountains of paper were filled with expressions of mutual understanding. One common feature remains the same — hatred of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, hatred of peace and progress, but servile work for the master-moneygiver.

The joint nationalist-Zionist declarations, directed against the Soviet Union, are signed by hands stained with the blood of innocent victims of Ukrainian nationalism and Zionism. But with what satisfaction "the High Contracting Parties," who pose as friends, would start pounding each other, shouting the war cry of Petlura's Directory: "We have killed, we are killing and we shall kill!" or bellowing the motto of the Nazis from the *Werwolf: Schlag tot, schlag tot, schlag alle tot!* (Kill them, kill them, kill everybody!)

The Head-Policeman Kovenko who has already been mentioned, had other nice things to say as well: speaking of the punitive actions of "Battalions of Death" — "which the Ukrainian army of the Directory can be proud of" — he warned that "those we don't massacre today, we'll massacre tomorrow."

The "High Contracting Parties" of the nationalists and Zionists hold these words dear. But now they are labeled "sworn friends." And in describing their present alliance, it is somehow more appropriate to use the word "pack" rather than "concord." And really, the Ukrainian nationalists and Zionists acted in concert, like a pack of wolves, spilling the blood of their innocent victims along with Petlura, Luty-Lutenko, special Nazi-organized Ukrainian and Jewish units. They are united by their hatred of anything that their masters might point out to them as objects of hate.

On the instructions of the organizers of "cold wars" and "crusades," the main efforts of the Ukrainian nationalist and Zionist organizations, including their subversive activity, are directed against the socialist countries, against the Soviet Union. To achieve a certain unity of action, attempts have been made to reconcile these bitter enemies — for such the Ukrainian nationalists and Zionists have always been: the Ukrainian-Jewish conferences, meetings, panel discussions and symposia began to be organized. The so-called personal contacts also carry a pharisaical relationship no matter who meets whom, whether it be OUNite-abroad Lev Shankovsky and F. Friedman, or Stepan Mudryk from the Banderite faction and Abraham Shifrin, or Vasyl Fedoronchuk from the Melnykite faction (incidentally it was Fedoronchuk who sent a personal message of congratulations to the Israel aggressors when they attacked Egypt).

Some people for whom no such thing as

decency exists, on finding themselves abroad, try to make money and a career out of radio broadcasting and giving press releases in which they throw mud on the country they have left, or out of participating in anti-Soviet campaigns, or out of the founding of new organizations which they regard as ladder rungs on the way to the heights of "a political career."

One such organization, the Civil Committee of Ukrainian-Jewish Cooperation, was set up in Jerusalem in 1979 by former residents of the Ukraine.

The Committee declared that it united all those who were not satisfied with the state of "Ukrainian-Jewish affairs," and would work toward getting independent states "into their historical borders"; it would also strive for "overcoming the age-long alienation" between Ukrainians and Jews. The real aim of the Committee was exposed by the fact that only those dissatisfied with the state of the "Ukrainian-Jewish affairs" grouped around it, but if some activity begins on a dissident note no good will come out of it.

As far as "historical boundaries" are concerned, the Committee chose the same phraseology which had been used before; there had been attempts to put it into life, as, for example, at the time of the Nazi *Lebensraum* (living space) drive to grab the territories of other countries. At present, it is Israel which is putting such a policy into practice by occupying the Palestinian lands and destroying the Arab population.

As far as "cooperation" declared by the Committee is concerned, it goes no further than the

initial verbal declaration. It is hardly worthwhile speaking about "cooperation" when the principal document about "the general directions of the Committee's activity" was signed by 19 people who were all Jewish — not a single Ukrainian among them! Besides, it later came to light, during a heated argument in the Civil Committee, that the persons who were made responsible for dealing with the nationalist organizations had no knowledge of the history, culture, and present-day life of the Ukrainian people. And a serious row developed in the Committee in the second year of its existence: the executive secretary of the Committee, Jacob Suslensky, was expelled from the organization for using his position for his own private purposes: making publicity for himself; embezzling funds collected for "the needs of the Committee"; bribing potential supporters; establishing desirable and useful contacts. There is one characteristic statement in the resolution on Suslensky's expulsion: "It is not a matter of ideological differences; there are no such differences, but it is a matter of his trying to become a 'leader'." It seems there was a great competition in the rush to get to the top, and the right to "pretensions to leadership" (it also comes from the official accusation of Suslensky) goes to the strongest.

The wrangle revealed another important side of the matter: this show of forming committees, societies of cooperation was needed by those in Israel who pretended to be interested in the advance of science and culture in the Ukraine, but who, in fact, only wanted some publicity

to help their careers. The general atmosphere is conducive to the growth of such committees and the shady activities of their organizers; there is enough smog to prevent one from seeing clearly what is going on, and the beneficial precipitation in the form of money grants, and timely trimming, help these commitees grow in a desired pattern.

In spite of his scandalous expulsion for fraudulence and embezzlement, Suslensky, using the money and contacts he had made as the Committee's Secretary, got himself appointed head of a new Society of Jewish-Ukrainian Relations. He later angrily called the Committee from which he had been kicked out "an irresponsible semi-clandestine group of 'Ukrainophiles'," this suggesting that he belonged with "Ukrainophobes" rather than with "Ukrainophiles." Even this did not prevent Suslensky from going to New York, Chicago and other US cities on the invitation of the nationalist organizations where he was entertained as a guest of honor, evidently sharing the views of those who invited him.

It was as a Ukrainophile that the Banderite faction London-based magazine *Vyzvolny Shlyakh* (Road to Independence), described Suslensky. At the time it featured eulogistic comments on the Jewish-Ukrainian Committee, run by Alexander Feldman and Jacob Suslensky, with "professor," "Doctor" Hrihory Vaskovych being especially prominent among the editorial staff. Vaskovych is the main terrorist of the so-called Security Service of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and assistant to

the OUN leader Yaroslav Stetsko, the very same Stetsko who in his *Autobiography* made public his credo: "I stand for the necessity of exterminating Jews, and the desirability of implementing the German methods of exterminating the Jewry, excluding their assimilation."

It is quite symptomatic that in its first publications about the Committee of Feldman-Suslensky, the *Vyzvolny Shlyakh* used words like *zhyd* — corresponding to English *kike* — which are derogatory in modern Ukrainian. Only after angry remonstrations from Jerusalem did the editors of the *Vyzvolny Shlyakh* begin to use the neutral word *yevrey* (Jew), though not very consistently. In general, Suslensky did not seem to be very much affected by the occasional displays of anti-Semitism on the part of the henchmen of the anti-Semite Stetsko, saying: "It will help Jewish immigration to Israel." Approximately the same thought was expressed in the manifesto of the new committee created by Suslensky. In this connection, it is appropriate to remind the reader that Theodor Herzl, one of the founders of Zionism, remarked more than eighty years ago that it was anti-Semitism that would make the Jews "leave their countries of residence and create a Jewish state."

In the light of this fraudulent and provocative policy by Zionists, the person of Suslensky and his meetings with the fervent anti-Semites from the Ukrainian nationalists, call to mind the situation and the protagonists, described by the prominent Jewish writer Shalom Aleichem in his novel *Travelling Stars;* and the similarity is striking! *The Ukrainian Home* in Jersey City,

N. Y., was turned, during Suslensky's visit, into a typical Jewish-American community center where rivals and bitter enemies could come together and do business, and discuss things; each being, at the same time, ready to burst into wild rejoicing at his antagonist's grave. The likes of Suslensky are epitomized by Shalom Aleichem in all their disgusting "glory" in the protagonist named Sholem-Meyer Muravchik: he is an impostor, swindler, secretary of some kind, who is ready to extort money or steal it. or treacherously hit where it hurts most. As for Muravchik, his visit to New York ends "happily": he has his pockets full of money, which he has wheedled out of his former countrymen. The same thing happened to Jacob Suslensky too.

Petro Mirchuk from the Banderite faction managed to be passed off as a great friend of the Zionists for quite some time. In 1977, the Zionists from the USA gave him an award of some kind, and later the Zionists from Israel gave him an enthusiastic reception when he visited "the Promised Land." Mirchuk decided to show his "gratitude" in, so to say, the classical nationalist way. In 1981 and in 1982, the periodicals *America* (Catholic publication in Philadelphia) and then *Homin Ukrainy* (the Banderite-faction publication in Toronto, Canada) reported every detail of how the benefactor and friend of the Zionists Mirchuk had lodged a complaint with the US special investigating bodies, the arrangement, in essence, being as follows:

— if the OUN members who worked for the

Gestapo, SS and SD are condemned as war criminals, then the former members of the *Judenrat* and *Ordnungsdienst* special Jewish police units, created by the Nazis, should also be regarded as war criminals; on their hands, as well as on the hands of the OUN collaborationists, there is a lot of Jewish blood.

Not only a dislike of Jews, but very aggressive anti-Semitism is evident from Mirchuk's book *Meetings and Talks in Isarel.* The nationalist magazine *Novi Dni* (New Days) called it "the worst book of the year" and went on to explain: "The initial good intentions in Mr. Petro Mirchuk's talks with Jewish representatives in Israel in the end turned out harmful to the Ukrainian cause. He behaved in an ill-bred manner, like a churlish and defiant know-it-all. He does not even want to realize that the word *zhyd (kike)* has acquired a derogatory connotation in the Ukrainian language over the last 80 years."

Mirchuk's boorish behavior did not go down well with the Zionists either; neither did they appreciate his letter and memorandum to the head of the special bureau of investigations at the US Department of Justice in which he demanded "that the former members of the *Judenrat* and *Ordnungsdienst* — special Jewish police — be called war criminals."

A sharp exchange was also provoked by Mirchuk's attempt to stir up guilty feelings in the Zionists themselves: "It's you who must thump your chest and say 'sorry'; we have done nothing we should be sorry for." The Zionists were piqued, and Alexander Volovyk, a member

of the Society of Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Israel, in his turn, demanded that the nationalists admit "the historical genocide against the Jewish people and repent in general." The argument was joined by the head of the Israeli "Society" Jacob Suslensky, in a passionate reply published in the newspaper *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) which stands in opposition to the Banderite-faction, who said: "Can we forgive the people who have committed such crimes against humankind? Probably not."

Among the ardent supporters of establishing good relations between the nationalists and the Zionists, one finds Professor Ivan Kedryn-Rudnitsky. He kept trying to strengthen cooperation with the Zionists for over thirty years. Yet at the same time, in a series of articles published in the periodical *Svoboda* he complained that the Jewish community continued stubbornly to regard Petlura — who, in fact, did initiate many pogroms — as a person who was responsible for many Jewish pogroms; that the Jewish community treated the Ukrainian nationalists as anti-Semites, as "those who supported German Nazism and took part in the holocaust." According to Kedryn-Rudnitsky, on the part of the nationalists, "there is only racial hatred toward the Jews."

As a specialist in "Ukrainian-Jewish affairs," Kedryn-Rudnitsky should know what he is talking about; he had extensive experience in maintaining relations with Jews while he was serving in Petlura's army which indulged in pogroms, at *Vijskova Uprava* (military board) of the SS *Halychyna* Division, one of the main

tasks of which was the struggle "against the Jewry and Bolshevism."

Now, a few words again on the phraseology the nationalists use. The same Kedryn-Rudnitsky opened his series of articles that *Svoboda* began publishing in 1981, with, in his own words, "a moot point" whether "the word *zhyd* has a derogatory connotation," and came to the conclusion: "If we take it for a principle that ethnic groups and entire peoples should be spoken of as they speak of themselves, then sooner or later we shall start using the words *yevrey* (Jew) or *israeltyanian* (Israelite)." But even after he determined which word carries "a derogatory connotation" and what the appropriate word is in the Ukrainian language, Kedryn-Rudnitsky the scholar cannot overcome Kedryn-Rudnitsky the nationalist and anti-Semite, and continues to use the derogatory *zhyd.*

We will not join this linguistic dispute here, but if Kedryn-Rudnitsky, knowing perfectly well the difference between the word "Jew" and the slang word *kike,* consciously uses the derogatory term, he exhibits his anti-Semitism. His calls for cooperation have nothing whatsoever to do with ethnic Ukrainians and Jews, but concern only the relations between the nationalists and the Zionists, and are just another attempt to coordinate and step up their activities directed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Much is being said in the West about the great friendship for the Jews entertained by the late hierarch of the Uniate Church in Ukraine, Andrey Sheptitsky. Usually, one and the same

episode is mentioned which relates how he helped several Jews. It could well be true; the half-Polish and half-Austrian Count, uhlan, Metropolitan, master of mystifications, Sheptitsky could have really helped prominent Zionists: the son of the Principal Rabbi in the city of Lviv, Levin, and a career officer of the Polish army David Kahana, are among those who are said to have been rescued by Sheptitsky.

There is a character study of Sheptitsky, made by David Kahana in 1962 (who at that time was an Israeli colonel, the chief chaplain of the Israeli Air Force) that was filed into the *Congressional Records* under the date of December 20, 1963. Kahana said: "Sheptitsky was a Zionist sympathizer and a firm believer in messianic mission of the Jewish people."

Could Sheptitsky's rescue feat be explained by these sympathies, specifically if they were rectified by instructions from the Nazis who actively employed the *Judenrat* Jewish special units? Whatever the reason that motivated him, Sheptitsky allowed Rabbi Kahana, to hide in a St. Yura (St. George's) cloister; Kahana said: "I shaved off my beard, tore off my yellow badges and stole out at night."

This story is now used by the nationalists for a double purpose: to "beatify" Sheptitsky, and to prove the deep roots of a great friendship between the nationalists and the Zionists. They tactfully forget to bring up that part of Kahana's story, where he mentions his conversation with Sheptitsky during which the Metropolitan "confirmed 'the use of Ukrainian (fascist-nationalist — V. S.) troops in anti-Jewish

actions,... in massacres of helpless Jews'." This is what one can read in Kahana's testimony, attached to the *Protocols of the US Congress.*

The current attempts to direct the activities of "sworn friends" hating each other — the nationalists and the Zionists — along the lines determined by those who give them money, are undertaken, ahead of anybody else, by the Zionists from Israel and the Ukrainian nationalists from the USA and other capitalist countries.

The honest working people of Israel have nothing but sharp condemnation for any attempts at establishing relations with the OUN murderers. Even an official from the well-known institute *Yad-Vashen,* Sh. Spector who cannot be suspected of sharing the interests of the working classes, is worried about the fact that the main principle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, with which the Zionist committees and societies want to cooperate, remains "the use of terror for achieving the national (nationalist — V.S.) goals." He said that "the crimes of the Banderites are described in detail in thousands of documents, testimonies by Jewish witnesses who managed to escape from death. Many such documents are collected in the archives of *Yad-Vashen, Beit-Lohamey getaot...*" Spector warns: "The Israelis who have agreed to be the mouthpieces of the people who have Jewish blood on their hands should be cautioned: keep away from such people!"

Not only among Ukrainians and Jews who have learnt the hard way what "friendship" between the nationalists and the Zionists could

bring, but even among many members of the nationalist organizations, the conviction grows that neither nationalism nor Zionism have ever expressed, nor could they express the thoughts and aspirations of ordinary people. The nationalists and the Zionists have dishonored themselves by serving the forces of aggression, and by taking a direct part in sabotage, and by committing crimes against a basic right of man — the right to live; their attempts at "unity" are made only because "the master wants it"; this unity is directed against the true interests of the Ukrainian and Jewish communities in foreign countries.

DANCING ON THE VICTIMS' GRAVE

The enormous grief that the war, unleashed in 1939 by the Nazi maniacs, brought millions of people, has lodged deep in the people's hearts. The Second World War means millions of bombs hurled down at peaceful towns; raging fires; devastation and Nazi death camps; it means fifty million people dead; hundreds of millions of human beings crippled and orphaned; millions upon millions of families who lost their loved ones. No wonder the massive movement grows to prevent another world war, and stop the warmongers. Those who still think in terms of a conventional, chemical, biological, or all-destroying nuclear war should remember the war memorials that stand on all continents, but most of them in Europe, over which the fascist hordes rolled in devastating waves.

One can only welcome the erection of new

monuments and memorials to the victims of fascism. They serve as a constant reminder of the horrors of war, and stand in the way of the warmongers. They arouse compassion and sympathy. It is with such feelings that the general public greeted the idea of creating in Denver, Colorado, a monument and a memorial park dedicated to the victims who were massacred by the Nazis in the Babin Yar ravine in the city of Kiev in 1941.

This was the first time that the Nazis exterminated masses of people in the vicinity of their homes; before that, the Nazis as a rule moved those they planned to destroy to specially equipped death camps, sometimes to other countries. One of those who came up with this bright idea to make extermination of humans more "economic" was Adolf Eichmann. He, one of the protégés of Himmler, SS *Reichführer,* started his SS career in one of the first Nazi concentration camps, set up in 1933 at Dachau. By the time of the mass extermination of people in Kiev in September of 1941, Eichmann had attained a senior position in the SS. After the war, due to the efforts of the Israeli secret service, he did not fall into undesirable hands, and when he died he took with him to the grave many secrets and details of the Zionists' cooperation with the Nazis.

The initiative to erect the Denver memorial belonged to the local Jewish community; the draft of the inscription had the accusing lines about the participation in the Babin Yar massacre of the German-Ukrainian police which was mostly made up of Ukrainian nationalists.

But the nationalists from the Denver branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America were categorically against the inclusion of such a remark in the inscription. The struggle between them and the initiators of the monument ended in the UCCA becoming a co-organizer of the construction of the memorial, and in the removal of the offending lines. Some of the UCCA members were included into the committee supervising the construction. Murderers were going to help build a monument to their victims!

Within the UCCA there is, for example, the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine, an offshoot of the OUN Foreign Branches, which, at the time of the construction of the Denver memorial, was headed by hard-core anti-Semite Yaroslav Stetsko.

The Brotherhood of Veterans of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army is also a member of the UCCA. This Brotherhood unites the cut-throats from the SS *Halychyna* Division, from the 31st SD punitive unit, and other war criminals who are responsible for the cruel death of thousands of Ukrainians, Russians, Byelorussians, Poles, Jews.

The Ukrainian Committee for the construction of the Denver monument was headed by Ivan Stebelsky, a man known for the crimes he committed on instructions from the Nazi secret service and Gestapo. Even the nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* (Liberty) mentioned it. Publishing its interview with Stebelsky, *Svoboda* informed its readers of his optimistic assurances that a firm truce had been reached between the

nationalist and the Zionist members of the Committee; "the leading Jews (the word *zhyds* was used) advised him (i.e. Stebelsky) to simply ignore... accusations" of his participation in the criminal activities of the Nazi secret services and Gestapo. Taking into account the nature of Zionism, it is quite possible that the "leading Jews," in other words the Zionists in charge of the Denver project, were indifferent to the facts of Stebelsky's work for the criminal Nazi organizations, or to his direct participation in the shooting of the residents of the Ukrainian towns of Drohobich and Borislav (among whom there were many Jews) in January of 1942. But Stebelsky tried to use his participation in the Denver project in order to hide his crimes against humanity; he even started to make hints to the effect that he "helped Jews escape from death during the war."

There is only one conclusion to be made from all this: the noble initiative of creating a memorial to the victims of Nazism fell into the hands of the Nazi collaborators and anti-Soviet elements.

Feeling at home in the Committee for the construction of the memorial, probably the same way they did in Kiev when it was occupied by the Nazis, the Ukrainian nationalists planned to inaugurate the memorial in April of 1982 so as to combine it with the celebrations of the 39th anniversary of the formation of the SS *Halychyna* Division. Some of the Zionists liked the idea of double-celebrations, and proposed to mark the anniversary of "the battle of Jerusalem," which, incidentally, included the com-

plete destruction of the population of the Arab settlement Deir-Yassin in April of 1948. The thugs from the terroristic *Irgun* organization killed babies, raped schoolgirls, and burned 250 bodies in a quarry. It is not accidental that a 1975 UN General Assembly resolution called Zionism a form of racism and racial discrimination.

Neither did the Zionists from the Denver Committee manage to combine the inauguration of the monument with the first anniversary of the massacre in the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian camps which was applauded in Israel, but which reminds one of the tragedy at Babin Yar. The henchmen of the Zionists machine-gunned and hacked to pieces everyone they came across, from the very young to the very old, thus using the method of "economic" extermination of human beings that had long ago been suggested by Eichmann.

Many anniversaries, that the nationalists and the Zionists might have celebrated, passed before the memorial was unveiled. The main speaker, and the man who received special attention at the nationalist-Zionist rally which gathered to inaugurate the monument and the Babin Yar Memorial Park in Denver, was a "Russian dissident" Petro Hryhorenko. Those who organized Hryhorenko's tour, made sure that it would be used for brainwashing his American audiences, for fanning anti-Soviet hysteria, and for advocating new "crusades" against communism. Hryhorenko was even taken to speak at the US Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs.

As the veil slipped from the monument, one could see that the UCCA gate-crashers had got their way: there was no mention in the monument's inscription of the German-Ukrainian police which, as we remember, had been made up of nationalists and ruffians.

It is easy to erase a line or two from an inscription, but it is impossible to erase from people's memory the fact that the nationalists took part in the extermination of thousands of people; in Babin Yar alone more than a hundred thousand Soviet citizens were shot. These atrocities have been described by witnesses many times over, and their accounts have been published not only in the USSR, but in the West too, where many of the organizers and executioners of human massacres have found refuge.

Olexandr Ohloblin, for example, former Nazi-installed *Bürgermeister* of Kiev, who helped SS-men carry out the executions of Kievans, emigrated to the USA. He personally translated from the German the Nazi order commanding Jews to arrive at a designated point in the vicinity of Babin Yar on September 29, 1941. Anatoly Kabaida, the former head of the OUN in Volyn, and in 1941, the chief of the German-Ukrainian police headquarters in Kiev, went to Australia. Even though he has changed his name to Zhukovsky, it is not so difficult to recognize him; it would be edifying to ask him to tell where he and his police — and Ohloblin too — were at the time people were being massacred in Babin Yar. Only two weeks after the nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* in its September 13, 1981 issue, claimed that the nationalists

from the Ukrainian police in Kiev had not taken part in shooting people in Babin Yar, *The New York Times Magazine* gave a detailed description of the participation of German-Ukrainian police in the massacre of Kiev Jews. The story said that the Germans, with the help of the Ukrainian police, had driven them (Jews) past the Jewish cemetery through a passage fenced with barbed wire; the Ukrainian policemen, under supervision of the Germans, told the Jews to undress; those who refused had their clothes ripped off; soon there were just naked, blood-stained bodies all around; from time to time; the German soldiers and the Ukrainian policemen went down into the ravine, stamping hard on the bodies of the people who had been shot, to make sure they were dead, and to push down the bodies to make room for new ones; then sand was poured on top of the corpses; according to an official report, the *Sonderkommando 4-A* with the participation of the special unit *Einsatzgruppe-Z,* and units of the police regiment *South,* and the Ukrainian police, executed 33,771 Jews in two days.

That is how unwittingly *The New York Times* gave *Svoboda* the lie.

Ivan Kedryn-Rudnitsky, a former SS-man from the SS *Halychyna* Division, did not miss his chance to enter the press lists. This vociferous propagandist of the nationalists-Zionists contacts in his article that appeared in the newspaper *Svoboda* (Jersey City, N.Y.) on December 16, 1981, raged against the supineness of the nationalists in the face of accusations made by "certain people, hostile to the Ukrainian

cause" from the Zionist camp, and called the "nationalist" community in the USA "a rabbit" doubled up by colic caused by a disgusting intestinal trouble. Kedryn-Rudnitsky called on the readers to show a united front to slanderers, quite forgetting that he was supposed to pose as a friend of the Zionists.

In fact, Kedryn-Rudnitsky repeated, in somewhat different terms, the main points of the *Svoboda* editorial which had appeared earlier, and in which, on behalf of the nationalists, the conclusion was made that "it is evident that we are facing an anti-Ukrainian paranoia on the part of the Jews. On the other hand, we can't deny the anti-Semitic paranoia on the part of the Ukrainians..." In other words, the nationalists at the present time take the same stand they have taken for very many years, "on the necessity of the extermination of Jews," to quote the motto of Yaroslav Stetsko.

In any case, neither the Ukrainian nor Jewish community in the USA can ignore the revelations made in *Svoboda* concerning the existence of "an anti-Ukrainian paranoia" among the Zionists, and of "an anti-Semitic paranoia" among the Ukrainian nationalists. It is, basically, a correct diagnosis, and the paranoia that has been diagnosed, shows that the nationalist-Zionist alliance is doomed.

AFTERWORD

Much time has passed since the end of the Second World War; the bones of the frenzied Führer Adolf Hitler, and of the SS chief Himm-

ler and of other principle war criminals have long turned into dust. The Ukraine is living a peaceful life which is not threatened any longer by murderers and arsenists from the SS and the OUN and UIA bands.

But the leftovers from the UIA and the SS *Halychyna* Division, the disciples of the archlier of Hitler's Reich, Goebbels, and their allies from the Zionist and clerical circles in the West are still trying, with the assistance of forces hostile to the Soviet Union, to whitewash and make heroes of the collaborationists of the Nazis; they publish laudatory books about them, make films, and go so far as to describe the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, that was created and managed by the Nazi secret services, as an almost anti-Nazi organization.

In the documents of the SS *Halychyna* Division, one may find a report from Volyn, dated March 20, 1944: "There is a Ukrainian Insurgent (member of the UPA — V.S.) in Volyn — he has, probably, moved by now to Galicia — who brags that he has strangled 300 Poles with his rope. He is regarded as a hero."

Rope, knife, machine-gun, treachery, provocations — all of these were used by the UIA against the patriots who were fighting the Nazis for their — people's — power, and not the power of the UIA-OUN. Thousands of people still continue to grieve over the death of tneir loved ones who fell victims to the terror of these bandits.

The crimes of the Nazis and their henchmen are not forgotten.

The little children who had their heads bashed

in or their hearts pierced with daggers bearing swastikas stamped on them, who were the victims of the Nazi bandits' attempts to destroy the future of mankind, will not allow these crimes to be forgotten.

The memory of these crimes still bring tears to the eyes of elderly people who witnessed them, or who miraculously escaped sure death at the hands of the terrorists who called themselves "nationalists."

The young people of today have learnt of the crimes of the Nazis and their henchmen from books describing these crimes, and from the accounts of witnesses. These young people must take action to prevent the horrors of war happening again, and to prevent any new attempts — made with the help of a rope or a nuclear bomb — to introduce "the new order" into other people's homeland.

Yaroslav Halan, who was murdered by assassins hired by the nationalists, wrote this about the Ukrainian nationalists: "The people hate them. These bandits are doomed. But you can't keep silent about them. Quite the other way round, we must tell all the truth about these fascist scoundrels."

These wrathful words can be also applied to the spiritual mentors of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, the Zionists and other catchers of human souls who from time to time combine their efforts in their struggle against the Soviet Union, and against those nations which have chosen their own, independent way of economic and political development.

ВАЛЕРИЙ АНДРЕЕВИЧ СТЫРКУЛ

БЕЗЫСХОДНОСТЬ

Публицистический очерк

(На английском языке)

Киев,
издательство
художественной литературы
«Днипро»,
1986.

Dnipro Publishers would be glad to hear your opinion on this book, and any suggestions you may have for future publications.

Please send your comments to:

DNIPRO PUBLISHERS
42 VOLODIMIRSKA STREET
KIEV, UKRAINIAN SSR
USSR